AL-FAJR

16 PAGES
IS 350

JERUSALEM

PALESTINIAN WEEKLY

(USPS 686-630

FEBRUARY 22, 1985

VOL.VI,NO. 251

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to:
Al-Fajr
2025 I Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

exp. 85/04
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Abu Ali Shaheen Deported to Lebanon

Israeli military authorities deported ex-political prisoner and local figure Abd al-Aziz Shahin (Abu Ali), 48, of Rafah, Gaza Strip to Israeli-occupied south Lebanon February 17, only hours after the Israeli High Court decided against his three-year appeal to remain in his homeland. The court also turned down an appeal to postpone his expulsion for 15 days. The deportation of the popular Abu Ali triggered spontaneous demonstrations and protests in various parts of the occupied territories. The last time a resident of the occupied territories was deported was five years ago.

Abu Ali Shahin was releasd from prison in 1982 after serving a 15-year sentence for armed infiltration. After leaving prison he was put under town arrest and then sent into internal exile in Gaza while lawyers appealed a deportation order against him for being a security threat.

According to reports published February 21 in the local press, Abu Ali arrived safely in West Beirut escorted by Palestinian and nationalist Lebanese forces and Red Cross representatives, two days after being released in the south. *Al Fajr* daily reported that Shahin is expected to arrive in Amman, Jordan on Thursday.

Immediately following the High Court decision, Abu Ali was whisked from court and taken by military jeep to the Israeli-Lebanon border.

Michel Vershuvsky, a member of the Committee in Defence of Abu Ali Shahin that led the publicity campaign against his deportation, told *Al Fajr* Abu Ali was not even given time to bid his family goodbye. When Abu Ali's lawyer, Lea Tsemel, asked the Rafah military governor, who also attended the court hearing, to allow the family this gesture, she was surprised to hear that Shahin was already on his way to the border.

Vershuvsky commented that it seemed as if the army had known about the court verdict beforehand and that they wanted to implement it immediately. Fearing for their client's safety in Israeli-occupied territory, lawyers Lea Tsemel and Avigdor Feldman filed an urgent appeal to the Israeli High Court asking for a postponement of expulsion for 15 days on humanitarian grounds — to allow Shahin time with his family and to secure a more hospitable destination. The court, which heard the petition the same day, rejected the appeal on the grounds that they were certain the army would observe the Israeli government's official guidelines with regard to deportations.

The court was referring to internal governmental regulations circulated to various ministries on March 18, 1981. These directions include deporting infiltrators to the country of their choice, the country of their nationality, or the country they originally infiltrated from. Tsemel said Abu Ali's deportation did not follow governmental guidelines.

Tsemel had secured approval from both Egypt and Cyprus to give Abu Ali asylum, but Israel had already sent the ex-prisoner north.

In a protest letter sent to the Israeli government, lawyers Tsemel and Feldman wrote that deporting Abu Ali to Lebanon put his life in jeopardy because the area is controlled by Israel and their allies, the South Lebanon Army (SLA), who are known for their hatred of Palestinians. In a previous deportation case in 1979, Riyad Abu Awwad from Bir Zeit was tortured in south Lebanon by the SLA, then under the command of Sa'ad Haddad.

The Israeli High Court's final ruling was based on a clause in the British Emergency Regulations of 1945, wholly incorporated into Israeli law, which stipulates that infiltrators must be deported, even after they have served prison sentences. Vershuvsky told *Al Fajr* the application of the term "infiltrator," which guarantees deportation, has never before been challenged and upheld in the High Court to mean a resident who illegally crosses the borders. He explained that because Abu Ali was a legitimate resident of Rafah after the Israeli invasion of Gaza

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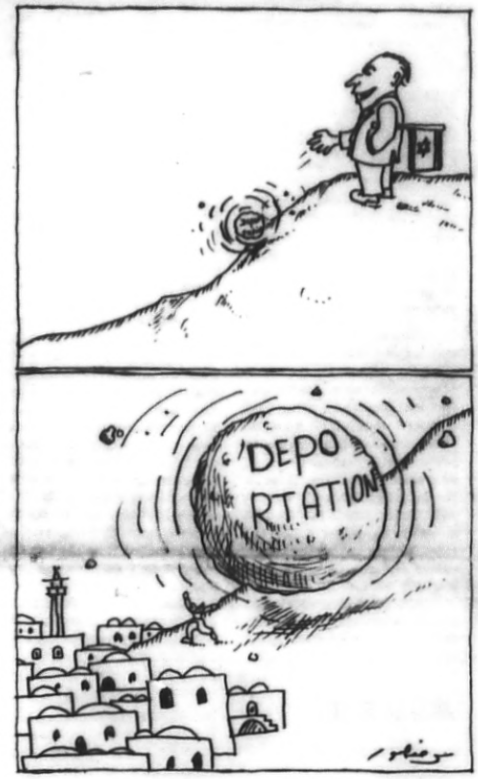

Settlers Take Another Stab at Tel Rumeida

Led by Gush Emunim leader Rabbi Moshe Levinger, more than 100 settlers from Kiryat Arba attempted February 20 to expand their nucleus settlement in Tel Rumeida near the centre of Hebron. They were confronted by five Palestinian women from the Abu Heikal family, who own the land. The Israeli army also arrived at the scene shortly after the settlers left.

Madiha Jwehan (Um Rateb), wife of landowner Jamil Abu Heikal, reported that the armed settlers arrived at the site and shouted at the women, demanding that they abandon the land. Feryal Abu Heikal, the landowner's sister, was told by settlers that Jews own the land and Arabs should leave it immediately. Um Rateb reported that several women carried broomsticks in defiance of the settlers.

Meanwhile, Feryal phoned the Israeli military governorate in Hebron and talked with the military governor to request army intervention. But the army only arrived at the scene after dark, when the settlers had already left the area. Israeli troops declared the region a closed area and blocked passers-by from entering or leaving the area for two hours.

Um Rateb told *Al Fajr*: "Kiryat Arba settlers have been trying to purchase the 16 dunums planted with almond trees from Jamil Heikal for the last five years. But Abu Heikal, who has lived on the land with his family since the 1930s in a two storey-building, does not want to sell." She added, "Two months ago, Levinger tried to tempt Abu Heikal to sell his land by offering him JD1 million and a travel visa to the United States." The settlers' interest in the site derives in part from its proximity to a Jewish cemetery.

A few weeks ago, settlers uprooted 50 almond trees from Abu Heikal's plot. His land is located in the vicinity of the eight pre-fabricated houses set up last year by Kiryat Arba settlers. Two months ago, a crowd of 70 settlers broke a water pipe on Abu Heikal's land and conducted prayers on the site. Mustafa Natshe, the deputy mayor of Hebron who was dismissed from office in 1983, commented on the incident, saying that "Kiryat Arba settlers have long attempted to settle in Tel Rumeida by provoking residents and trying to intimidate them into abandoning their land. They are encouraged by the government's soft attitude towards settlers." The Israeli civil administration in the West Bank and Gaza reaffirmed last week that Tel Rumeida is an archaeological site and that construction is forbidden there. A new ban on planting trees in the area was

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PLO Executive Committee Endorses Arafat - Hussein Accord

While stressing outright rejection of UN resolution 242, the Camp David accords and the so-called Reagan Plan, the PLO's Executive Committee met February 20 and blessed the accord reached by King Hussein of Jordan and PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat during Arafat's 24-hour visit to Jordan February 11.

The announcement was made in Tunis following a two-day intensive meeting by 10 members of the policy-making body headed by PLO Chairman Arafat. The three-point draft announcement endorsed the Hussein-Arafat accord as "a logical outcome of Palestine National Council resolutions, Arab summit resolutions and UN resolutions concerning the Palestinian problem."

The approved Hussein-Arafat accord was based on the common Arab goals of "ending Israeli belligerent occupation of Arab lands, including the city of Jerusalem, achieving the rights of Palestinian people to return

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After Withdrawal:
Israel Clamps Down on Southern Lebanese

Five Lebanese civilians were killed, four others wounded and scores arrested as Israeli troops started a large-scale security campaign in several south Lebanese villages February 20. The campaign was launched after two high-ranking Israeli officers and a soldier were killed in the area and at least four others wounded in a series of Lebanese and Palestinian attacks following the first Israeli withdrawal last week. The latest measures are part of a new policy which was unveiled by Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin February 20.

Israeli tanks and armoured vehicles supported by South Lebanon Army (SLA) forces surrounded the villages of al-Bazouriyeh, Arab Sleem, Tair Dabba, Burj Rahhal and Deir Qanoun, all in the Tyre area, and forced their way into them. According to reports emerging from South Lebanon, Israeli troops gathered residents of al-Bazouriyeh in the main village centre and questioned them on recent military attacks near their villages.

During the round-up, Israeli soldiers shot and killed two villagers and wounded two others, one severely, on the pretext that they had resisted when soldiers conducted house-to-house searches. Israel Radio reported that the troops demolished a gas station in the village on the pretext that it was the starting point for an attack February 18 in which an Israeli major was killed. Before leaving the village, troops rounded up more than 200 residents for interrogation.

UNIFIL forces, which have been deployed in a strip in south Lebanon since the first Israeli invasion of the area in 1978, reported that the body of a man who was shot in the head was found outside the village after Israeli troops had departed.

Three other Lebanese residents were killed and two more wounded in a similar campaign in Tair Dabbah village February 20. Radio Monte Carlo reported February 21 that Israeli troops are still enforcing a curfew on the neighbouring village of Arab Sleem for the third consecutive day, where an Israeli colonel was killed February 20. Furthermore, the Israelis and the SLA are still besieging the villages of Deir Qanoun and Burj Rahhal in the Tyre region and conducting house-to-house searches in these villages.

The Israeli security measures came as part of an iron-fist policy adopted by Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Israeli military reports said these measures are intended to counter the rising number of Israeli casualties in south Lebanon since the Israeli government's decision to pull back. Israeli military sources said that since the decision was taken, 15 Israeli soldiers have been killed and 104 others were wounded in Lebanese nationalist attacks. Meanwhile, in a statement issued in Beirut February 20, the National Lebanese Resistance Front said it had carried out 1219 attacks on Israeli occupation troops in south Lebanon during the past 29 months. The statement, which was quoted by *Reuters*, said the attacks had been launched from the day the Israeli army entered Beirut, September 20, 1982, and the Israeli pull-back from the Sidon area.

Last week's casualties were the heaviest in recent weeks. An Israeli military spokesperson said that the late Colonel Avraham Hido, an advisor to Antoine Lahad who commands the SLA, another Israeli officer, an SLA officer and six other aides were travelling in the village of Arab Sleem February 18 when they came under attack. The late colonel and another officer jumped out of the jeep, under fire from three directions. Israeli military reports said Hido, wounded in the attack, was pronounced dead before arriving at hospital.

The second Israeli officer was killed when a five-kilogramme explosives charge was detonated on the same day under a four-jeep convoy which entered the village of al-Bazouriyeh east of Tyre. Israeli reports said another soldier had been killed in the same village a few days earlier.

Earlier in the week, one Israeli soldier was killed and three others wounded February 17 when a 15-kilogramme explosives charge went off under an Israeli convoy in the village of al-Bazouriyeh. The wounded soldiers were flown to Haifa's Rambam Hospital by helicopter.

The Israeli army completed the first stage of its announced pullback from Lebanon February 16, two days earlier than planned, amidst a sharp increase in resistance operations and large-scale desertions from the Israeli-sponsored South Lebanon Army (SLA). Officials said the surprise move had been ordered for fear that widescale "send-off" attacks against Israeli troops had been planned for the 18th, the original target date.

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At Neve Tertza:
Prisoners End 5-Day Hunger Strike

After receiving promises that their demands for an improvement in conditions would be met, 25 women political prisoners at Neve Tertza prison ended their hunger strike February 17 after five days.

The strikers had presented a signed memorandum to the Israeli general prisons administration January 30 listing 11 demands to be discussed and answered. However, the Neve Tertza prison director refused even to look at their demands.

On February 12, the prisoners started on open hunger strike and were visited by a delegation from the Israeli prisons administraton. Their demands for radios, books and newspapers to be an undeniable right regardless of whether the prisoner works or not were totally rejected. However, the prison administration did agree to end the arbitrary measures of supervising prisoners' talks among themselves and with visitors. The prisoners also demanded to have freedom to organise study meetings and lectures to commemorate national and religious festivals and to be granted vacations from work during feasts.

The prisoners wanted to work only in the kitchens and maintenance and not in productive factory work. They also wanted the work to be voluntary and organised according to rotation.

They also asked to be separated from criminal prisoners. They demanded an improvement in the medical treatment given in prison and to be permitted to visit relatives who are prisoners in other jails.

The demand for opening the prison's interior doors at time of holidays and feasts has not yet been decided upon.

The prisoners also demanded to be given two hours leisure time everyday and that the general prison director's promise to build an outdoor yard be kept.

The prison administration promised to facilitate bringing books, newspapers and letters into the prison. (Translation: Al Fajr, February 20, 1985)

Ben Shimol Trial Opens

The trial of David Ben Shimol, the 19-year-old Israeli soldier charged with firing a LAW rocket at an Arab bus in October 1984 and bombing an Old City cafe about two months earlier, opened at the Jerusalem district court February 18. One man died as a result of the bus attack and 10 people were injured. Ben Shimol admitted the charges but denied that he had intended to kill anybody. "I didn't want to kill anybody," the soldier testified on the witness stand. "I'm against killing people. I wanted... to make people open their eyes and see what's happening in the country. Everyone is apathetic!... I wanted to show the Arabs they too can be injured. I thought maybe that would frighten them... A person who hasn't any intention of killing anyone naturally feels very anxious about carrying out such an act, even frightened. I felt that part of me was opposd to the idea of firing the rocket because I was scared that I would injure people."

Given Ben Shimol's admission of guilt to both the rocket attack and the bombing of the Old City cafe, the first session of the trial proceeded quickly. At the next session, scheduled for mid-March, both sides will present their summations and sentence will be passed.

According to the police witness, Ben Shimol cooperated with his interrogators, telling them that he "wouldn't let them down." (Translation: HaAretz, Hadashot, February 19, 1985)

Abu Ali

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in 1967, he should not have been subject to deportation.

Shortly before his release from prison in May 1982, Israel tried to deport Shahin on the pretext that he was not a resident of the Gaza Strip when the Israeli army occupied it in 1967. Shahin's lawyers obtained an order *nisi* from the Israeli High Court prohibiting his expulsion until after the court had heard the case. Subsequently, the Israelis placed Shahin under town arrest in his home town of Rafah. One year later, on May 11, 1983, he was exiled to Dahniyeh, a tiny remote Beduin village in the southern corner of the Gaza Strip, where he was held *incommunicado*, separated from his family.

Abu Ali, originally from the now destroyed Bshit village south of Jaffa, was forced to seek refuge with his family in the Gaza Strip in 1948. He joined the young Fatah movement in 1964 and was considered a close associate of its leader, Yasir Arafat. In 1967, Abu Ali was arrested, charged with armed infiltration and sentenced to 15 years.

In reporting on the expulsion, the Israeli press, quoting Israeli military sources, described Abu Ali as the highest-ranking Fatah leader in the occupied territories. Israeli military sources were also quoted as saying that while serving his prison term, he was the main "political instigator" and inciter during hunger strikes and other prisoners' protest activities.

The expulsion of Abu Ali triggered angry reaction among students in Beitunia, Bir Zeit, Hebron and Nablus. The largest and most energetic protest reportedly took place in the Modern Community College in Beitunia, where hundreds of students erected roadblocks at the main roads between Beitunia and Ramallah. Youths also hoisted Palestinian flags and clashed with the Israeli troops that were dispatched to quell the protest.

Israel Radio reported February 18 that students hurled stones at Israeli military jeeps when soldiers surrounded the campus. Israeli troops reponded by firing a flurry of tear gas grenades. Several students were overcome by gas fumes. Israeli troops later broke onto the campus and arrested at least 20 students.

Later in the day the MCC administration took a decision to close the college for five days.

At Bir Zeit University, students struck from classes and held a rally on the same day in protest of Abu Ali's expulsion. Representatives of different university student blocs delivered speeches denouncing the expulsion as an arbitrary measure. The rally was confined to the campus, and Israeli troops patrolled the streets but did not intervene to stop the protest.

Early on February 18, students at Najah organised a rally commemorating the expulsion.

Students at Hebron University demonstrated February 19 and threw stones at Israeli soldiers who besieged the campus. Israel Radio reported that five university students were arrested for stonethrowing. Protests also took place at Bethlehem University, at Jerusalem community colleges, at refugee camps in the central region of the Gaza Strip and in the city of Rafah.

The expulsion was also condemned by West Bank and Gaza nationalists and institutions, who published notices in the local press terming the decision "arbitrary" and calling on the Israelis to rescind it.

Editorials on the expulsion in *Al Fajr* Arabic and *Al Sha'ab* dailies February 19 were censored.

Tel Rumeida

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also announced. Tel Rumeida has been considered an archaeological area since 1944.

After he ended his three-month stake-out at Dheisheh refugee camp on February 18, Levinger announced that he would not nominate himself as a candidate for the Kiryat Arba settlement council because he wants to concentrate his efforts now on working within the framework of Gush Emunim to concentrate the movement's activity on setting up a settlement at Tel Rumeida.

The issue of expanding Tel Rumeida was debated among members of the Israeli Knesset last week. Professor Yuval Ne'eman, the former science and development minister and acting chairperson of the ministerial settlement committee, said that the cabinet in the previous Likud government had approved a settlement at Tel Rumeida as an "extension" of an existing settlement. On the other hand, Minister of Defence Yitzhak Rabin told MKs from the Citizens' Rights Movement on February 14 that he opposes establishing settlements in Arab urban centres and that he opposed the Tel Rumeida settlement.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 251, February 22, 1985:

Number of original articles submitted to censors 8
Number of articles totally censored out 5
Number of articles partially censored but used 1
Number of articles passed 2

18 Days after Dheisheh Arrests:

7 Youths Remanded 50 Days

Israeli military court in Ramallah ordered seven Dheisheh youths to be detained an additional 50 days for interrogation on unspecified charges at the Fara'a Detention Centre in Nablus. The court's decision puts the Dheisheh detainees in virtual administrative detention for more than two months. Two other youths were remanded for 10 days. The youths were arrested January 31 during a night raid on the camp, when 26 residents were taken for interrogation.

Relatives said the youths' interrogation at Fara'a focused on the attacks against nationalist residents of the camp carried out by Village Leaguers last month.

Several other Dheisheh detainees were also reportedly taken to court, but their cases have not yet been decided.

According to relatives of some of the detainees, the judge's decision was influenced by the attorney general for the Israeli military governorate in the West Bank, known as Ya'ir. During the court hearing, which lasted an hour-and-a-half, the Israeli prosecutor said the nine Dheisheh youths had been "refusing to cooperate during questioning." Relatives said their sons had nothing to confess.

One Dheisheh resident who attended the court hearing reported that the judge initially wanted to make the 50-day remand effective from the date of the youths' arrest. Because they had already been held in detention for 18 days, this would have meant an additional 32 days. But Ya'ir, who defence lawyers said rarely attends military court hearings, personally intervened and specifically requested that the 50-day remand start on February 18.

Settlers have been lobbying the military government to exercise their utmost power against anti-occupation protests, particularly Dheisheh camp residents, and have called for a reinstatement of administrative detention and deportation policies.

Usama Odeh, lawyer for the Dheisheh detainees, told *Al Fajr* that the long remand is a form of punishment against the Dheisheh residents. He noted that there is no reason to hold the men, as officials have not learned anything from the interrogation.

The authorities have already violated the promise they made to the judge by sending five of the seven detainees back to Fara'a detention centre near Jenin, Odeh added. They had promised to keep all seven detainees in Bethlehem for questioning by the police.

Bethlehem Vendors Spurn 4% Produce Tax

After a one-day strike to pressure the Bethlehem municipal council to rescind the new four percent tax on produce, Bethlehem vendors scored a partial victory when the municipal council removed a barricade at the entrance of the old market. The barricade had been set up to prevent fruit and vegetable trucks from entering the market unless they paid the new tax.

According to Bethlehem municipality sources, the tax is based on Jordanian law and has been levied in other West Bank towns. However, after the merchants' protest February 18, the municipal council promised to study their demands, including abolishing the tax and the annual rental fees for the vegetable stands and shops, which the municipality wants to collect at a rate of JD90 per metre. Merchants agreed to continue paying two Jordanian piasters on every box of produce brought into the market, as they have done for years.

Bethlehem municipality recently opened a new wholesale and retail vegetable market some three kilometres outside the centre of Bethlehem. The municipality is insisting that all vegetable trade should go through the new market and pay the four percent tax.

Merchants in the old market object to moving to the new market because they are afraid that customers will find it difficult to travel the distance. The new JD90 per metre fee at the old market is aimed at persuading merchants to transfer to the new market.

Bethlehem municipal sources insisted that the merchants' protest is a "storm in a teacup" and that merchants will eventually have to pay the tax.

Strike

More than 300 merchants, vegetable vendors and their supporters went on strike February 18 in the market and in front of the municipal council.

The strikers demanded the immediate abolition of the tax and termed it "unbearable." "We cannot afford to pay the tax, which ranges from JD300 to JD1000," merchants on Madbaseh Street told reporters.

The merchants appointed a delegation that tried to meet Mayor Elias Freij, but he refused to meet them. At 12:30 the Israeli military governor in Bethlehem intervened to stop the crisis and spoke to some of the merchants about their demands. The Israeli official also contacted Bethlehem municipality officials.

Jamal Salman, the secretary of the municipality, refused to comment, saying that the municipal council is studying the issue of merchants and will take the necessary and proper procedures.

Shopkeeper Mohammad Ali Awad told *Al Fajr*: "We agreed to suspend the strike after municipal authorities allowed us to enter the old market and to use big lorries." Awad claimed that the decision to collect the four percent tax on wholesale goods is a new procedure. Bethlehem merchants and vegetable vendors presented a signed memorandum to the Bethlehem municipality on February 14 demanding that the tax be cancelled. Mayor Freij told Israel Radio on February 15 that only three or four persons opposed the new precedures. The angry merchants refuted the mayor's statement by publishing signed ads in *Al Quds* newspaper, saying that "hundreds of merchants signed the memorandum."

Merchants and vegetable vendors on strike in protest against the latest tax levied on them by the Bethlehem municipality./AO photo

Several Egged Buses Attacked

Several Israeli Egged buses were targeted in attacks by Palestinians here this week. A bus was burned near Hebron and three others attacked with stones in Jerusalem and Ramallah.

Four masked men stopped an Israeli Egged bus near the village of Dura south of Hebron February 18, forced its driver and two passengers off at gunpoint and set the bus on fire. The bus travels to Dura on a daily basis to pick up Arab labourers who work in Israel. The Egged bus was totally destroyed. Details of the operation were not publicised but there were no reports of arrests.

In Ramallah an Israeli bus was stoned February 17 while travelling to Jerusalem near al-Am'ari refugee camp. A passenger was slightly injured. Israeli forces soon closed the area for investigation.

Two more Egged buses were reportedly attacked with stones in West Jerusalem February 17. The first was hit near the ultra-Orthodox Mea Shearim quarter and the second near Bab al-Zahera (Herod's Gate) at the Old City. There were no reports of damages or injuries.

Young HAJJIS Too Risky

Israel Restricts Muslim Pilgrimage

The Israeli Ministry of Interior announced restrictions February 10 on Arab travel to Mecca for the Islamic *haj*, or pilgrimage. Palestinian Muslims inside the "green line" under 35 will no longer be allowed to make the pilgrimage, the ministry declared, and those who have made it once may not go a second time.

The *haj* is a religious duty of the highest order in Islam, and all Muslims try to make the pilgrimage at least once in their lives. Israel has apparently decided that younger *hajjis* are a higher security risk than those over 35.

Tawfiq Assalieh, head of the pilgrimage committee and chief judge of the Islamic religious appeals court, told *Al Fajr* that the government must not interfere with religious matters. He said the ban contravenes Islamic principles, which call for any Muslim who has reached the legal age to perform the *haj* ceremonies. "The issue of banning is not yet resolved," Assalieh said. "I am trying to convince Dr Nissim Dana, the official responsible for non-Jewish communities in the Ministry of Religion, to pressure the Ministry of Interior to rescind the decision. According to Assalieh, "The police or the Ministry of Defence are usually behind these restrictions. Israeli officials say pilgrims take advantage of the pilgrimage and contact the PLO."

Fathi Fourani, secretary of the Islamic Initiative Committee in Haifa and secretariat member of the General Islamic Committee, told *Al Fajr*: "These new procedures violate the democratic rights of the Arabs in Israel. Arab Muslims are very upset and demand that the authorities rescind their decision. This is all part of the official Israeli policy of interference in Islamic affairs," he said. Fourani cited concrete examples to back up his statement: "The Israelis destroyed the *Istiqlal* cemetery in Haifa in 1981 and the *minaret* of the Hassan Bek Mosque, and there are similar plans for Nasr Mosque and Taso cemetery in Haifa."

After 29 years of barring access to Mecca for Muslims of Israel, the government of Saudi Arabia relented and allowed them to come to Mecca in 1977. Jordan took responsibility as a host country for Palestinian pilgrims. Israel, in turn, issued an order in 1977 permitting its Muslim citizens to make the trip.

The first year, only three *qadis* — Tawfiq Assalieh, Yousef Dasouqi and Mohammed Habaishi — performed the duties of pilgrimage. More followed suit and by 1983 the number of pilgrims peaked at 6500. Last year the number declined to 2500. Assalieh expects that the number will decline again this year; the Israeli government's rise in the travel tax, to US$200, may deter some pilgrims.

Assalieh also appealed to the Jordanian authorities not to create obstacles in limiting the number of pilgrims.

Najah Students Refuse to Show School IDs at Roadblocks

Israeli soldiers set up roadblocks February 19 outside Najah University and demanded that students present their university ID cards.

Roadblocks also appeared on February 9 and 10 and soldiers asked students to show their university ID cards. On February 19 the students discussed the issue in a meeting on campus and then held a sit-in to object to soldiers' demands. Sa'eb Erakat, public relations director at Najah, said that Israeli authorities do not like what the university is doing: graduating a new generation of educated Palestinians. (Translation: Al Fajr, February 10, 1985)

Unionist Released From Jail

Israeli prison authorities released Asa'ad al-Ghazali, 20, on February 11 after he served a one-year prison sentence. Al-Ghazali, an activist in the Jerusalem Construction Workers' Union, was arrested on charges of membership in an illegal organisation and for carrying out union activities on behalf of the organisation. In addition to one year active imprisonment, he was sentenced to a one-and-a-half-year suspended term, in effect for three years after his release.

Levinger Leaves Dheisheh

Extremist Gush Emunim leader Rabbi Moshe Levinger ended his three-and-a-half-month stake-out in front of Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem February 19 after Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin visited Levinger and promised to implement more severe measures to stop stone and Molotov attacks. Camp residents reported the Israeli army immediately beefed up its presence and increased its harassment of residents, signalling a new policy and harsher punitive measures. Israel Radio reported that internal problems within Gush Emunim may have prompted Levinger to halt his publicity show.

Since November, Levinger and a number of his followers had been camping in a van across the street from the Palestinian refugee camp to protest stone-throwing attacks against Israeli vehicles passing in front of the camp.

The tall, bearded American rabbi said he started his stake-out in front of Dheisheh "to protest the insult and humiliation of stone-throwing and petrol bomb attacks on Jews" and to influence the government's position on stone throwing.

Levinger claimed to have influenced Israeli government policy with regard to the camp. He noted that Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, Defence Minister Rabin and Chief-of-Staff Moshe Levy had all issued statements that the "Israeli government will not tolerate stone throwing and other attacks against settlers."

In the evening the settlers threw a party in front of the refugee camp and danced and sang loudly. Dheisheh residents said Levinger and his friends remained in the camp area until late at night. Residents believe Levinger left the area early the next morning.

Levinger's decision to end his vigil coincided with increasing protest activities from leftist Israeli groups. Students from the "Campus" movement, which has branches in most Israeli universities, and members of Mapam demonstrated outside the camp February 16, defying a military order declaring the camp area a closed zone. Israeli troops briefly arrested 25 students from the Campus movement and Mapam youngsters after they defied the closure order. They were released after interrogation at the Bethlehem police station. The Mapam delegation reportedly continued to demonstrate in front of Dheisheh to show camp residents that "not all Israelis are like Levinger," they said. They would leave only after Levinger did, they said.

A source at the Bethlehem Press Office, an authority on camp conditions, told *Al Fajr* that for the past four weeks, Dheisheh had been subject to constant harassment from Israeli soldiers who had been stationed throughout the camp. The soldiers have been manning checkpoints at camp entrances where they search passers-by and check their IDs he said. He added that soldiers raided the homes of workers Yasir Masha'al and Majed Farraj February 18 and demanded to know where the two men were. They also took photographs of their houses. Residents believe soldiers just wanted to scare the occupants, the source said.

Palestinian political prisoners at Jnaid prison near Nablus sent a letter to Dheisheh residents expressing solidarity with them. The letter, which was written February 14, saluted the united stand that camp residents had taken in their struggle against Israeli settlers, the Israeli occupation authorities and the Village Leaguers. "Your steadfastness is a clear signal that our struggle to return to our homes (inside the green line) will prevail," the letter stated.

Nazareth Holds Demonstration for Palestinian Solidarity

Over 3000 Nazareth residents demonstrated February 15 in solidarity with fellow Palestinians in the occupied territories who, according to demonstration organisers, are living under "increasing repression and occupation-related terrorism." The demonstration, which was called by the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE), was also meant as a warning to the Israeli government that Palestinians inside the "green line" are watching "Israeli activities in the occupied territories carefully and anxiously," and that "if incitement against Dheisheh and land expropriation do not cease, we will see that protests increase."

These statements, which were reiterated by several speakers as demonstrators gathered at the centre of town, were strongly expressed by Nazareth Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad. He warned that plans are being drafted so that the annual general strike by Palestinians inside the "green line" on Land Day, March 30, will "show the Israeli government that we are part of the whole Arab-Palestinian people. We cannot stand idle while occupation forces continue to terrorise our brothers."

Other speakers included Mohammad Nasser, head of Arrabeh local council, and Assad Kana'aneh, village head of Yafet al-Nasera. Kana'aneh told the audience, "Our brothers in the occupied territories are crying out for help against the criminal attacks of occupation forces. We shall stand by them because we share their grievances and hardship."

The demonstration peaked when the 3000 participants loudly sang anti-occupation songs and chanted: "Hands Off Palestine, Long Live the Steadfast Palestinians, Long Live Dheisheh!"

Several Israeli soldiers were present at the demonstration and reportedly video-taped the event. Demonstration organiser Suhail Diab told *Al Fajr* that he considered the army presence and the video-taping inciteful because the DFPE had obtained a permit to hold the demonstration. He said he sent a letter of protest to Nazareth police demanding an investigation into the army's actions.

Arafat-Hussein

continued from page 1

and decide their own destiny of an independent Palestinian state, total rejection of all defeatist and unilateral plans such as Camp David, UN resolution 242 and proposed Israeli autonomy for the occupied territories and rejection of non-Palestinian representation of the Palestinian people." The PLO will remain the sole representative of all Palestinians, the Executive Committee announcement stressed.

"By joining hands with the Jordanian government, the PLO meant to create a nucleus of an all-Arab effort that will push for the convening of an international conference to resolve the Middle East crisis. The PLO will be a full partner in this conference, which will be supervised by the UN and attended by permanent members of Security Council and all concerned sides," the draft announcement said.

The Executive Committee draft added that the PLO insists that while it endorses the Hussein-Arafat accord, it concedes the concept of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation fully supported by all Arab countries. Also the proposed confederation between Jordan and the Palestinians following an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories will have to be a confederation between two independent states, insisting that a fully independent Palestinian state be established before plans for confederation with Jordan can be drafted.

According to reliable Palestinian sources, the five-point Hussein-Arafat accord approved of:

1. The concept of land in exchange for peace, as detailed in UN resolutions. The right of self-determination for the Arab Palestinian people, including the right to set up an independent state.

2. The establishment of confederation between Jordan and the Palestinians following Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories.

3. Solving the Palestinian problem from all aspects.

4. Palestinian refugee problem to be solved in accordance with UN resolutions.

5. The call for an international conference to include the five permanent members of the security council and all concerned sides in the Middle East issue, with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine had announced February 18 its total rejection of the accord, saying that it "put Arafat and his followers under the auspices of American liquidationist policies." It added that it will oppose the accord "with all its might."

George Habash, head of the PFLP, announced in a press conference in Damascus February 14 that eight groups were discussing the "best effective ways to confront this destructive accord." He called for the formation of a "broad Palestinian national front that would oppose Arafat's policies."

Among West Bank personalities who opposed the accord were Dr Ahmad Natshe, a member of the PNC, and deposed Nablus Mayor Bassam Shaka'a. Natshe was reported in *Al Mithaq* as saying, "The accord is similar in context to the Camp David accord in that it follows the footsteps of American imperialist proposals and defeatist solutions for the Mideast issue." Shaka'a said that the accord overlooks aspirations of Palestinians for an independent Palestinian state.

Inside the "green line," the Abna' al-Balad movement came out strongly against the accord, saying that it does not serve the Palestinian cause; instead it "puts the Palestinian revolution under direct control of non-progressive Arab regimes."

Ramallah Mayor Karim Khalaf came out in strong support for the accord. In a signed column published on the front page of *Al Fajr* Arabic daily February 17, Khalaf called the agreement "historic."

On 3rd Anniversary of Golan Strike:

Syrians, Golanis Demonstrate at Border

Israeli police arrested several Golan residents February 15 following a demonstration the previous day in Majdal Shams to mark the second anniversary of the famous Golan Strike. The four Druze Golan villages shut down for five months between February and July 1982 to protest Israel's annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights in 1981.

Majdal Shams residents Fawaz Safadi, 25, Alam al-Din Zeid, 24, and Nabil Mahmoud, 23, and Mas'adeh resident Suleiman Safadi, 43, were arrested from their homes February 15 on charges of raising Syrian flags. They were remanded on February 18 for 10 days each. Others have reportedly also been arrested, but their names were not reported.

Thousands of Syrians from the Golan took part in the rally at the border fence that separates Israeli and Syrian troops. News reporters from the Golan said residents from Bokata Ain Qinian and Mas'adeh flocked to Majdal Shams the largest Golan village, where they assembled in a long procession, marched to the fence and held a rally. They were greeted by fellow Syrians and relatives on the other side of the fence. Local reports also said a Syrian governmental delegation, headed by Quneitra governor Hassan al Saqqa, was also present.

The Israeli Communist Party Arabic daily *Al Ittihad* reported February 15 that the rally started with a moment of silence for the martyrs who died while struggling against Israeli occupation. The crowd on both sides of the fence then joined in singing the Syrian national anthem. A number of speeches were delivered. One of the speakers on the side still controlled by Syria said that February 14 has become a Syrian national day commemorating Golani resistance against accepting Israeli identity papers.

After the speeches, the Golanis returned to Majdal Shams in procession, chanting anti-Israel slogans and slogans supporting the Lebanese National Resistance Front. Earlier before the demonstration got started, Israeli soldiers and policemen summoned a number of activists to the Israeli police station in Mas'adeh and warned them against striking or participating in demonstrations. Demonstrations and marches erupted instantly in each of the four villages as a result of the warning.

In a related event, more than 1000 Golan residents voted in the Syrian presidential elections which took place last week. Reports described voters coming to the demarcation fence and calling out their names, Syrian ID numbers and votes for Assad to government officials on the other side of the border.

The Dawn
AL FAJR

AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. **The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686630)** is published weekly for $50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead. N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street, N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

Deportation Is No Solution

The Israeli High Court ruled February 17 in favour of its government's decision to deport Palestinian ex-prisoner Abd al-Aziz (Abu Ali) Shahin after a three-year wait by the military. Shahin was released from prison in early 1982 and, since then, had legally debated the Israeli military's claim that he had no right to remain in his homeland. The charge of "illegal resident" was finally dropped.

The implementation of the decision to deport Shahin comes at a time when top Israeli officials — under pressure by West Bank settler colonials — have been repeatedly announcing their intention to deport "inciters."

Although the policy of deportation is not new — it was legislated by the British during their mandate over Palestine — the Israelis, who used the law excessively in the late sixties and in the seventies of this century, have for the last five years refrained from exiling Palestinian residents. Such reluctance is in no way due to good hearts or good gestures of the Israeli oppressor but more surely due to world-wide rejection of such a repressive policy and the consequent reflection on Israel's international relations.

The public incitement campaign by various Israeli state organs — settlers, Knesset members, government officials and the press — against Palestinian nationalists in particular and against the Palestinian people living under Israel's control, has exceeded all proportion in the last couple of months.

Economic and political pressures on the Palestinian population in the occupied territories have become intolerable and consequently their reaction to the occupation authorities has taken a hotter form, pursuing their demand to end the occupation. However, the state organs are using the existence of Palestinian legitimate protest against occupation oppression to incite against the Palestinians, requesting the government to hold up resistance as a pretext for more repressive measures.

We are sure that deporting one or two individuals will not solve Israel's problem. Not even mass deportations can stop resistance to foreign occupation. What they are aiming at is neither acceptable nor implementable as long as the Palestinian people exist. And the people will always exist.

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Interview with the Leader of Egypt's Opposition Labor Party

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, DC Correspondent

On a warm, sunny day in early December, Al Fajr's Washington correspondent spoke to Ibrahim Shukri, a leader of the opposition Labour Party in Egypt, at his office in the People's Assembly in Cairo.

"The results of the last elections are the only possible outcome considering the Egyptian election laws. Previously, election results were tallied in each district, so competing individuals and parties sought support at the district level. Small independent parties were free to form coalitions by joining other parties like Labour or others. Now, for the first time, elections are based on conditioned, proportional representation. Those conditions benefit only the largest party. Eight percent was set as the minimum required for a party to win a seat — not a small percentage, all things considered. When it becomes clear that the ruling party inherited the authority to rule from the Nationalist Party, which inherited it from the Egyptian Socialist Party, which in turn inherited it from the Arab Unionist Socialist Party, the strength of the present ruling party becomes easy to understand.

"Under one-party rule, the president of the republic also becomes party president, and the picture is completed. Governors, mayors and others working for the president of the republic become loyal to the party as well. Consequently, none of the opposition parties can ever reach any level of equality with the ruling party. Together with the 8 percent minimum required for entry to parliament, this makes it almost impossible for small parties to win. For example, our party won 7.2 percent of the national vote which, when translated into votes, numbers 372,000. But because it is less than 8 percent, we didn't get any seats. The *Wafd* was the only opposition party able to overcome the 8 percent minimum requirement, only because they formed a coalition with the 'Muslim Brotherhood.' Together, these two parties won 15 percent of the total national vote."

About the likelihood of changing the election rules, Shukri said, "The election results triggered a wave of support in our favour and in favour of changing the law. The public also realised that the 8 percent minimum requirement was not the only flaw in the system. It became clear that the votes 'left over' from parties that did not win seats were transferred to the ruling party's total, which gave them more than 60 seats more than their due. The *Wafd* Party, for example, won 15 percent of the vote, but only 12 percent of the seats. Although mergers between small parties can change the picture, this is not currently thought of as an option. In the future, however, this may become a necessity and a way out."

About the 17th PNC session in Amman, last November, he said, "I consider the 17th PNC session extremely important, one of the most important sessions ever. The conditions under which this last session was held — and in fact those under which the 16th session was held as well — were momentous. The legitimacy of the PLO and its independent decision-making were the primary issues at stake, but so was the belief in a collective decision-making body, necessary for Palestinian national unity. Yet disagreements erupted between the factions and escalated into a military conflict, reaching the tragic siege of Tripoli. With a group of colleagues, we went to Yasir Arafat during the siege because we believed that, despite the risk to our lives, what we wanted to contribute to Arafat and those under siege couldn't have been said and done in an article or a speech from Cairo. At the time, everyone said that today, tonight or tomorrow would be the end of Yasir Arafat and all those with him in Tripoli.

"Of course, that wouldn't have helped the Palestinian problem. Any weakening of the PLO — which has gained international recognition as the sole representative of the Palestinians — will diminish its world prestige and acceptability and will thus reflect negatively on the Palestinian cause as a whole. The friends of the Palestinian people intervened to reconcile differences among the factions, an agreement was reached on a variety of topics and it was therefore agreed to hold the 17th PNC. It can be argued that other capitals in the Arab world would have been better to host the PNC, but this is not the basic question. The PNC was held in a legal format with a legal quorum, and that is a victory by itself. It is not irrelevant that Palestinians in the occupied territories supported Arafat and the holding of the PNC in Amman. The proceedings of this session, I have to say, were as democratically conducted and run as others that I have attended..."

About President Mubarak's acceptance of the proposal King Hussein submitted at the opening of the 17th PNC session, Shukri said, "Our party supported the Palestinian views and the view that the PLO is their legitimate representative. We never forgot they are the victims and we can't and shouldn't be replacing them. This does not mean we can desert them, for though the issue is theirs, the cause is an Arab one and thus ours as well. The best we can do is to give support for the PLO in what they believe is best for the Palestinian people. From this perspective, we believe that what King Hussein proposed, though not new, is sound. We seek the return of the territories, and King Hussein's proposal is based on the principle of peace for land. We think that this principle is good grounds for the beginning of negotiations leading to the legitimate right of the PLO to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinian people.

"In this regard, King Hussein stands by the PLO's legitimacy to speak on behalf of the people of Palestine, and he says he doesn't challenge that right. The PLO, King Hussein says, has to be the party to map out the future and shape of the Palestinian state. When King Hussein says these things and renews Egyptian-Jordanian ties, he wins Egypt to his side in this particular regard. Despite the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, Egypt is still supportive of the right of the Palestinian people to choose their own solution. Egypt also considers the PLO the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine. There may be some legitimate questions from the PLO about UN Resolution 242 — which doesn't take into consideration their legitimate national rights or a role for the PLO — besides, it is their right to reject anything. The late Abd al-Nasser once said that the Palestinians have the right to reject any proposals that they consider do not serve their full interests.

"Despite all of what I said, (UN resolution) 242 had the potential to benefit the Arabs because of the principle of return of the territories. We should do our best not to provide the Israeli government with alibis to keep changing the reality on the ground. High level efforts must be made both internationally and among the Arabs to convince the Israelis that an acceptable solution is necessary and it benefits Israeli interests in the final analysis."

About King Hussein's criticism of the Camp David accords, while speaking to the Egyptian People's Assembly in the presence of

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AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Lesson in the Dynamics of Occupation

Gideon Summit of the Hebrew daily *HaAretz* points out the obvious — violence on the West Bank is an inevitable outcome of occupation. Resistance won't cease until the occupation comes to an end.

The recent spate of incidents on the West Bank is not simply a disturbing breakdown of law and order; it is a telling reminder, a cruel yet necessary object lesson in the dynamics of occupation. Distressing as it may be, recurrent spates of this kind are an unavoidable part of the process whereby the implications of Israeli rule in the occupied territories are brought home to the Israeli public; they illustrate the dead end to which both the Labour Alignment and the Likud are leading us. Each successive wave of incidents proves *ipso facto* that the means used to deal with the last one failed to achieve its purpose.

The word *wave* is apposite here; it is a fitting description of the dynamic involved in this phenomenon. The settlers, the security forces and the attention of the Israeli public have all been repeatedly drenched by the spray of cold realities wrought by the occupation. Hence, we are drawn to the inevitable conclusion that this situation will continue until there is a basic shift in the way we relate to the problem as a whole. An iron law is at work here and no democratic country has ever been able to avoid it: you cannot rule another people indefinitely, especially if you wish to avoid bloodshed.

This is of paramount importance in regard to the position we adopt *vis-a-vis* recent events on the West Bank. By ignoring it, we condemn ourselves to stopgap measures, delaying tactics which at best can only serve as a temporary remedy for a turbulent situation that has persisted for the past 17 out of the state's 36 years of existence.

Last week the prime minister said that there wasn't any connection between the recent spate of incidents on the West Bank and the future of the occupied territories. Mr Peres, that is simply cant; the dissatisfaction and resentment of the residents of the occupied territories and their opposition to Israeli rule are germane to any discussion of the latest wave of incidents.

Israel has dealt with the West Bank on a micro-level in the past, believing that by employing the correct strategy, the security forces could bring about an improvement in the situation. Defence Minister Rabin repeated this bit of proverbial wisdom in the wake of recent events. But the truth is that it has never been substantiated. Of course, we have witnessed temporary let-ups, achieved by increasing the number of policemen and soldiers in the area; likewise, this latest spate of incidents is not the worst we have seen. Nevertheless, the application of local remedies has not stemmed the phenomenon nor has it radically altered the overall situation, for the next wave is always in the offing.

The defence minister said that there was no reason to change governmental policy on the West Bank; the present situation, he said, can be dealt with in the framework of the existing policy. What we have to do, he concluded, "is do more." And so, once again, we're back to the micro-level. Perhaps the only difference between what Rabbi Levinger has been clamouring for and what the minister of defence has been proposing is one of degree. The tactics Rabin proffers include house demolitions, stepping up intelligence work, expelling instigators and interrogating troublemakers. Doubtless, we will be dragged to yet a lower level of inhumanity; the fact that innocent detainees are cruelly beaten in the Tel Aviv police station on Dizengoff Street makes one shudder at the thought of what kind of treatment is meted out to detainees on the West Bank.

While Rabin sticks to futile measures, ignoring the crux of the problem, Arik Sharon is busy trumpeting the right-wing view, namely, that the situation will only improve if we make it totally clear that the occupied territories are an indivisible part of the land of Israel. According to Sharon, any proposal that does not make this clear breeds uncertainty and causes the security situation on the West Bank to deteriorate.

So things stand for the moment. We are engaged in a futile exercise and until we begin to question the wisdom of holding onto the populated areas of the West Bank, we will be hit over the head with our own shortsightedness time and time again.

Of course, every Israeli child knows that "there is no one to talk to," and furthermore, that the national unity government was formed on the understanding that sleeping dogs would not be roused. Likewise, the Americans know that palaver about a diplomatic initiative is no more than a way of stalling, buying time until the next announcement. In the meantime, we'll continue to "preserve order" — but we have no reason to hope that a forthright and dynamic approach will come to replace the attitude we now hold in regard to Israel's eastern border; and thus, the situation on the West Bank will continue to deteriorate.

You can't have it both ways; whoever wants to remain there cannot expect peace and quiet. The next wave is in the offing — it's almost a law of nature. But the people who have hitched their fate to the West Bank (and thereby hitched our fate to theirs) would rather not believe that this is so. And they are not alone. Although the Labour Party's platform calls for a different approach, we have yet to see it manifest itself. During the Labour Party's last term in office, they cravenly capitulated to the settlers. It was a period of political inertia and diplomatic timidity. Hence, the right is not alone in clinging to myopic policies. One cannot enjoy the best of both worlds: Israeli rule in the occupied territories and peace, control and coexistence are mutually exclusive concepts.

In the final analysis, the reigning illusions are so entrenched that perhaps only an escalation of turmoil could cure the country of its present delusions. We cannot expect the present political leaders of Israel to resolve the complex problem of the West Bank, nor can we expect the public to change its attitude in the foreseeable future. Such a development will only come about when the country is forced into making a choice by factors beyond its control. There is no one at present capable of taking the first step and, unpleasant as it may be, recurrent incidents on the other side of the green line (Israel's pre-1967 border) are a kind of prophylactic against complacency. In spite of all the differences, analogies with Lebanon are relevant here, for I doubt we would have budged had we continued to be showered with rice rather than grenades. (Translation: HaAretz, February 12, 1985). ■

More Anti-Israel Than the PLO

by Rabbi M. Hirsch

The world media informs us of an accord agreed upon in entirety between the King of Jordan and the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and there is a feeling that this will lead to a reciprocal recognition between the Palestinian-Jordanian Confederation and the Zionist state. This would seem to be a justified reason for the anti-Zionist Neturei Karta Organisation to break away and sever relations with the PLO, whose charter also championed the disintegration of the Zionist state in accordance with the Neturei Karta Torah statutes. But after a coherent analysis, it evolves that mutual recognition would also be stipulated upon the return of land confiscated by the Zionists, and thus enable the establishment of a Palestinian entity on these lands and present the Neturei Karta with a rare opportunity to be spared the agony of being subjugated to a sacrilegious rule. The Neturei Karta would thus be able to appendage the Mea Shearim quarter and its vicinity to this confederation and integrate the Palestinian Jews into this entity under the rule of a "Kosher" government, removing the heretic-appointed custodianship for the Jewish holy sites under occupation.

The feverish meetings between those to whom the Middle East controversy is pertinent are dealing only with the aspects which affect the Palestinian Arab cause. These negotiators are weighing the possibility of compromise and conciliation and its possible results. The Palestinian Jewish enmity to Zionism can never be resolved by compromise. Material claims can be pacified — spiritual demands can never be met halfway. War-mongering Zionists term meetings between those who meet with Palestinian Arab leaders as treasonous. Callous feeling toward blood spilling is certainly not a moral virtue, but the so-called representatives of Zionist-oriented Jews would prefer murder rather than compromise — for the Zionists to receive a chunk of land to which they bear no title or deed, in exchange for neutralising their "defence" army.

The Neturei Karta Organisation has officially requested of the Palestinian-Jordanian committee, which was formed to formulate plans to establish a Palestinian-Jordanian confederation, to include Mea Shearim and vicinity in the anticipated entity. Mea Shearim, the home of the indigenous Palestinian Jewish residents who purchased their land from the Arab landowners over a hundred years ago, is now serving as a bastion from which Jewish anti-Zionist doctrines and principles are propagated.

After the Rabat summit meeting in 1974, in which the Palestine Liberation Organisation was chosen to be the official representation of the Palestinian nation, the Neturei Karta Organisation sent a letter of congratulation to the Palestinian Arab leader, Yasir Arafat, in which they informed him that the Palestinian Jewish people would accept his rule over them, just as Jews have accepted the rule of non-Jews in countries throughout the world — provided that they would be guaranteed their rights to live and live as Jews. The contents of the letter are still valid today, and in this vein we requested to be incorporated into the anticipated entity.

Jewish theology terms the Zionist state a "sacrilege." The raising of the "pig's paw" (one of the two necessary characteristics of a kosher animal is a split hoof possessed by the pigs) by the so-called "religious" members who comprise the Zionist state does not sanction the legitimacy of the heretic state. By the occupation of lands against the wish of those residing there, the Zionists only awaken the wrath of G-d and endanger the safety of the Jewish nation. Their claim of "brotherly love" is put to lie by the tens of thousands of their brothers that they have sacrificed on the alter of Zionism. By merging with the new entity and exiting from the "*traifa*" (non-Kosher) state of Zionism, Mea Shearim and vicinity will be showing the way for all Jews to take, thus appeasing the wrath of G-d and putting a halt to unnecessary blood-shedding, with righteousness prevailing, in G-d's ways.

We hope that the latest development will strengthen the ties between the Neturei Karta and the PLO, the two Palestinian peoples who were living together amicably and harmoniously in tranquility for centuries prior to the entry of Zionism into the Middle East arena, and bring a stability to be enjoyed by those residing in Palestine, as was existent in the past. ■

Expiating the Sins of Dheisheh

Due process of law has litle relevance in the daily lives of Palestinians in the occupied territories. The oft-proclaimed "Israeli rule of law" is actually a sophisticated invisible network of laws set in place in order to control the population; legal rights and benefits guaranteed by international law are not in evidence. Yigal Serenah of the Hebrew daily *Hadashot* visited Dheisheh camp, home of a 14-year-old boy recently sentenced to five years for allegedly throwing a Molotov cocktail at an Egged bus. His six-hour trial makes a mockery of the concept of "justice."

On Wednesday, January 30, 14-year-old 'Ahed al-Issa was brought to the administrative buildings [of the Israeli military headquarters] in Ramallah. The police van pulled up to the entrance of the military court and 'Ahed was led inside. That same afternoon, his trial came to an end. The prosecutor, Rabinowitz, presented his case; the defence lawyer, Barghouthi, challenged the prosecutor's allegations; and the three presiding judges — Haber, Barka'i and Oron — passed sentence — after their lunchbreak. *The trial lasted no more than six hours and ended with 'Ahed being sentenced to five years in prison. (The charge: manufacturing a Molotov cocktail and throwing it at a passing bus.) The trial was as expeditious as a hearing in a small claims court.* When I was summoned to the municipal court in the Russian Compound over an IS1260 water bill dispute with my downstairs neighbour, the hearing also lasted six hours; but in my case, the court adjourned without reaching a verdict.

'Ahed Mahmoud Musa al-Issa was born in Dheisheh on June 26, 1970 under the zodiac sign of Cancer. I doubt that children born in Dheisheh need horoscopes to know what the future holds in store for them. In any case, according to astrologists, people born under the sign of Cancer are very domestic, moody, responsible, sensitive, easily hurt, vulnerable, shy, very imaginative, sentimental and very patriotic; they also get along well with children and like being in closed places.

When he was three-months-old, misfortune struck his family. Somehow or other, 'Ahed must have been aware that something dreadful had happened, for the small home of his family was filled with weeping and wailing. It was Black September 1970. Some of his relatives who had migrated to Jordan were killed in the merciless Hashemite storm that was sweeping over the country.

Home Is a Refugee Camp

'Ahed grew up a refugee. Dheisheh, Balata, Jericho — it's all the same. "It's not like growing up in Bethlehem or Ramallah," a teacher from the UNRWA school told me. "Here, children don't lead happy or carefree lives."

When 'Ahed was four, his father died of cancer; it had gnawed at him from within. He left a wife and several children — 'Ahed's older brothers had gone to seek their fortune in the world and were scattered around the globe. A Palestinian's lot.

Cancers are shy. One of 'Ahed's teachers described him as "taciturn, quiet, a good pupil. Not one to be involved in schoolyard scrapes." Looking through 'Ahed's purple notebook — perhaps the most colourful thing in Dheisheh — I came across a handwritten table of Hebrew verb forms: "You speak, he speaks, they speak," etc. His handwriting is clear and there was a teacher's red checkmark at the bottom of the page. Perfect. Apparently, 'Ahed did his homework diligently and made few mistakes.

"Where did he do his homework? Where did he sleep? Where's his room? I want to photograph his room." His older sister rushed back and forth; she didn't speak English and had never picked up any Hebrew. When someone explained what I wanted in Arabic, she still didn't understand. She ushered me into a large room, more like a stable than a room; it was cold and dank and there weren't any windows there. Twelve mattresses were piled up in one of the corners and there was a bundle of blankets in a nylon bag — protection against the leaking ceiling — nearby. Against the wall stood a closet full of children's clothes. "Where did 'Ahed sleep?" Here and here and here. Wherever he put his mattress down for the night. He didn't have any fixed place. He did his homework on the floor, or on his knee, or on his way home from school. Fayez, his 12-year-old brother, said: "Our mother has to nag me to do my homework but 'Ahed never needed any nagging. He'd just do it. On his own. He was a good pupil." One of the walls in the room is covered with framed graduation certificates; several of the al-Issa children finished their high school studies at the Bethlehem Secondary School.

Just a Small Boy

On September 12, 1984, 'Ahed wrote out the verb forms for the Hebrew infinitive *to walk* in his notebook. "I walk, you walk, they walk," etc. Twenty-eight days later, according to the charge-sheet, he hurled a Molotov at an Israeli bus.'Ahed used the correct Hebrew inflections, just as his teacher had requested. When he finished his homework, he went outside to look for bottles. How many people must a small boy satisfy? His mother's desires? His teachers' hopes? His people's aspirations?

Unlike his notebooks, 'Ahed's textbooks are marked up. A friend of his by the name of Mahmoud Hassan wrote a poem in 'Ahed's science book that runs roughly as follows: "I'm writing these lines so that you'll remember me,/ as long as the dawn wind whistles and as long as Abd al-Hakim sings./ I write with a burdened heart to a kindred soul./ O write, pen, and inscribe what I hold in my heart..." On one of the blank pages in the book there's a drawing of a Palestinian flag done in three colours. And there's an awkward map of Palestine, in which the Dead Sea is misplaced. The chapter on sound begins on the opposite page. The teacher translated it for me: "When you throw a stone into a pool of water, you will notice circular waves moving outward from the point of impact." The teacher sighed. "When children in the camp read a sentence like that," he said, "all they can think about is stones. The explanation about how a loudspeaker works reminds them of the curfew announcements — 'You are forbidden to leave your homes' — and how they echo across the camp."

'Ahed used to get up at 7:00 am. The whole family would get up around then and, taking their clothes out of the cupboard, get dressed. But sometimes, to stave off the bitter winter cold, they'd go to bed fully dressed. Breakfast consists of a hot drink, a slice of bread, an egg and some olives and cheese. The UNRWA school isn't far away. Standing at the high wire fence that encircles it, one can see Levinger and a few border policemen in the distance. His trailer is visible as well.

There's a five-minute recess every hour and, after the third class, a half-hour recess during which the pupils play soccer or marbles. 'Ahed, being a sentimentalist, was very attached to his brother, Nash'at. Although Nash'at is two years older than 'Ahed, the two were constant companions. In Nash'at's words, "We were, like David and Jonathan." (They spent 22 days together in a cell in Moscobiyya — the Russian Compound lock-up.) The two brothers used to play marbles on the concrete schoolyard.

'Ahed's brothers, Nash'at, 16, and Fayez, 12, carry his picture.

I saw a snapshot of 'Ahed, posing on one knee on the concrete slab that covers the cesspit in the courtyard of his home; the toe of his shoe looks frazzled — probably on account of his soccer activities. That's about the only informal photo of 'Ahed to be found. Of course, there's his ID photo and a graduation portrait. On one of the walls in the al-Issa living room, there's a reproduction of a weeping child — common fare around here. In every home, he's weeping about something else.

Children of Occupation

'Ahed used to play with his friends in the schoolyard during the half-hour recess. When I visited his school, I saw some children playing the same games he must have played before he was arrested. Some of the kids in the yard looked innocent, others impish and then there are the ones who at the tender age of eight are already poker-faced. Kids. There's a line in one of Dalia Rabikowitz's poems that explains everything. Needless to say, had it been submitted as testimony in court, it would have been rejected — in the same way that the claims put forward by the defence were rejected. The line I have in mind is: "It's hard to raise children these days./ Things have changed/ and the old times/ when you could sit under a fig tree beside the mosque/ are now no more than memories."

The teacher I spoke to told me that Dheisheh children rarely laugh. The long and drawn-out occupation has even had an effect on the games they play. "There was a time," he said, "when their games were naive..."

According to the military prosecutor, Yair Rabinowitz, in the month of October, 'Ahed made five Molotov-cocktails and on October 8, at 6:50 pm, while standing on the main Bethlehem-Hebron road (that runs past Dheisheh), threw one of them at a passing Egged bus. The Molotov hit the windshield and damaged it, but that was the full extent of the damage: none of the people on board the bus were hurt. "Molotovs are popular right now," said the teacher. "They've become part of our daily experience. A bottle full of gasoline... It's a way of showing everybody how you feel about the situation. The kids

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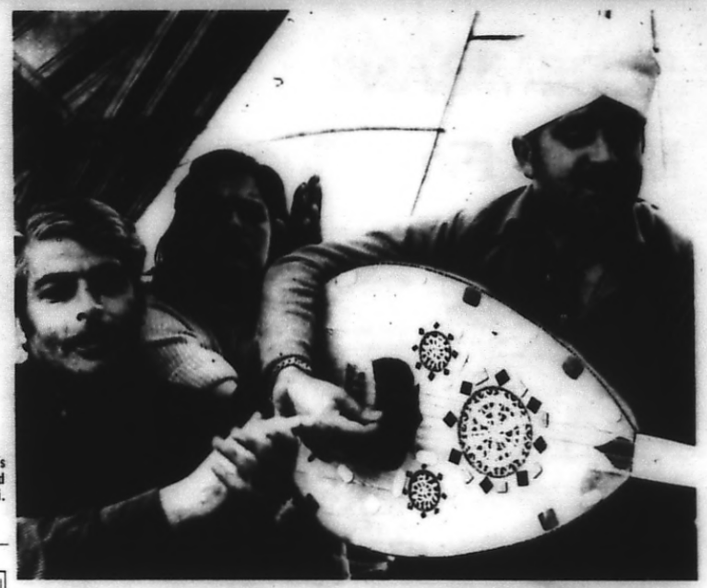
An old Sephardi Jew fixes umbrellas to earn a living...

...but the Ashkenazi works on computers.

Israeli soldiers on alert in the occupied territories.



TOP: Black Hebrews try to preserve their heritage by attending their sect's own school in Dimona. RIGHT: Oriental Jews who came from the Far and Middle East don't want to abandon their cultural roots and become Israeli. They can't forget what they have learned since their childhood.

The Facade of Unity in Israel: When Dissent Becomes Taboo

Israel's national unity government is symptomatic of a sharply polarised society. Polarisation at all levels rules out communication and the possibility of dissent. While true democracy provides debate as a means to resolve presumed disagreement, the demand for unity arises when there is no tolerance left for dispute. Yitzhak Shor of the Hebrew daily *Al Hamishmar* attended a recent lecture on the meaning of polarisation in Israeli society and wrote this report. Israel today is reminiscent of Weimar Germany on the eve of Hitler's rise, he observes.

The polarisation of Israeli society manifests itself on three basic ideological planes: secular/religious; doves/hawks; and democrats/anti-democrats. So said Professor Zvi Lam of the Hebrew University's faculty of education during a symposium held at the Jerusalem Tzavta Centre on the 'educational ramifications of the polarisation of Israeli society.' The symposium was sponsored by a group of teachers in Jerusalem who are affiliated with Mapam (the United Workers' Party).

The religious/secular dispute is one of long standing, said Professor Lam. However, one can gauge its present tenor by recalling that when Rabbi Maimon, one of the leaders of the National Religious Party, was questioned prior to the establishment of the state on how he could agree to the partition of the land of Israel, he replied: "There are certain things that are best left in the hands of the Messiah." Rabbi Maimon's outlook was patently *political*. Politics is the art of the possible. A sensible person rationally weighs his strength against that of his adversaries and decides upon a course of action. But messianic conceptualisations are not rational. When one party to a debate presents his views rationally and the other party argues along irrational messianic lines dialogue becomes impossible.

No Room For Dialogue

"The polarisation between doves and hawks is even more critical than the controversy between the secular and the religious," said Professor Lam. Each side wants to delegitimise the other side. The hawks call the doves "traitors" and the doves call the hawks "fascists." Needless to say, there can't be much of a dialogue between fascists and traitors.

Moreover, not only are the hawks and doves divided over how the problems facing the country should be solved, they also disagree over what the problems are. For the doves Israel's fundamental problem at present is how to achieve a peaceful resolution of the Israeli-Arab conflict. Hence the doves assume that peace is indeed possible. In contrast, the hawks view the threat of the 'repartition' of the land of Israel as being Israel's number one problem. The hawks take the continuation of Israeli rule over the Arabs living in the occupied territories for granted and ignore the question of whether or not it is within the domains of possibility.

(In the period prior to the establishment of the state, there was a general consensus over what to be done. Of course, there were small pockets of dissent, like the Palestinian Communist Party, which had an alternative scenario to that of the Zionists.)

Ethnic Divide Mirrors Ideological Split

The polarisation between democrats and anti-democrats manifests itself in the argument over the meaning of parliamentarianism. Anti-democrats adopt a pseudo parliamentary posture whereby the decisive question is: who can muster more votes? and not: how does a given piece of legislature affect the individual liberties of the citizenry? Parliamentarianism is part of the democratic process, but is it not all there is to democracy. The anti-democrats want to limit Israeli democracy to the Jewish population of the 'greater land of Israel' and are opposed to granting the Arabs living in the occupied territories the right to participate in the democratic process. The anti-democrats do not care whether the implementation of daylight-savings time infringes on someone's rights; their sole concern is if it can be pushed through the Knesset or not.

The above-mentioned axes of ideological polarisation have come to demarcate the socio-ethnic divide as well. Since the establishment of the state, the Jews of the oriental communities have felt deeply offended by the second class status meted out to them. Mapai (the Israeli Worker's Party — forerunner to the Israeli Labour Party) treated the Oriental Jews in a manner best described as paternalistic. Mapai left the Oriental Jews at the mercy of the social welfare bureaucracy and turned their leaders into "vote contractors" come election time. Mapai pushed the Oriental Jews to the bottom of the social ladder and it is not coincidental that Israeli prisons are full of young Oriental Jews.

The Oriental Jews regained their dignity and pride by gaining access to the political arena under the auspices of the Herut Party. Not that the leaders of Herut were at all socially-minded; the conditions of the weaker segments of Israeli society are the last thing that worries them. However, by supporting Herut many Oriental Jews were able to free themselves of the paternalism and indignity they experienced during Mapai's reign. They came to provide the social foundations for the establishment of a religiously traditional and hawkish bloc. Now, to make an understatement, clericalism and hawkishness are not the stuff of democracy. The last election results revealed that the Lebanese war and the country's soaring rate of inflation have not had much of an effect on the politics of many voters. The electorate didn't vote for party platforms so much as they voted to affirm themselves as arbitrators of social values in contemporary Israeli society.

There is a grey area between these two blocs but it doesn't take much to dissolve the greys into blacks and whites. The fact that the leaders of both political blocs are Ashkenazi (Western) did not prevent many Oriental Jews from believing that former Prime Minister Menachem Begin was a Moroccan Jew. While it is true that that there are many Ashkenazis among the supporters of the Likud and many Oriental Jews among the supporters of the Labour Party, there is a general trend toward ethnic polarisation between the two camps.

The minute secular people take up hawkish positions, they almost automatically discover their empathy for religion. One of the most militant secularists in Israel was Dr Yohanan Bader, but when Begin assumed power in 1977, Bader suddenly fell silent. The secular members of the Tehiya Party are at present accommodating themselves to religion. Both blocs want to keep their parametres clearly marked.

Polarisation and Unity

People who live in a society that doesn't suffer from intense polarisation have diverse means of expressing their social affiliations. A person can belong to a given party, while socially or economically belonging to an entirely different group. At present, Israelis do not affiliate themselves to Israeli society at large, but rather to one of the blocs thereof. And the blocs have coalesced around mutually antagonistic political positions. Weimar Germany experienced something similar just prior to Hitler's rise to power. The republic was split between two belligerent groups and there was no possibility of dialogue between the two. Israel's present national unity government has somewhat lessened the symptoms of polarisation but not the disease itself.

In a situation of social polarisation, many people are lured into paying lip service to unity and tolerance. But the ideal of tolerance and the promotion of unity are not necessarily democratic values. Whoever supports democracy is in favour of debate and believes that people have the right to disagree. Democracy is necessary precisely because there isn't any unity. Whoever talks about unity reveals a desire to see the entire nation marching in step to the beat of a single drum; so it is that unity can be an obfuscating ploy for draining democracy of all content.

Likewise tolerance is trumpeted as a panacea to the country's social ills. Tolerance is one of the most important concepts of Western society. Spinoza advised opponents to listen to each other. He believed that it was not rational to prohibit people from worshipping as they saw fit. But in Israel tolerance is not extended to "deviants" like the reform Jews or the missionaries, to cite only two cases.

In fact, Israeli society is not plagued by a lack of freedom of speech; people are not gagged here. The real problem is the dearth of common denominators among the opposing groups, and that makes for ideological polarisation. A lot of Israelis did not agree with the retaliatory raids that were carried out in the 1950s (in Gaza — ed) but there was a general consensus on the need to defend ourselves. The Lebanese war did not receive across-the-board backing of this type. The decision to go to war was made public in a surreptitious manner. They said that the war would be over within 48 hours and here we are three years later, still bogged down in Lebanon. The government that decided to go to war took the risk of alienating a large segment of the population. And hence two hostile camps came into being.

Ideology of Occupation

Next year's draft will effect those born after the 1967 war. These youngsters do not know any reality other than that of occupation. For 17 years Israeli soldiers have been serving in an occupation army. Occupation produces situations that have more effect than ideology in shaping a person's mindset. A young man charged with keeping order in an occupied city must not only do his duty — he must also watch out for his own skin. He must find a way of justifying his actions — at least to himself. This desire for a salve has developed into a full-blown ideology of occupation.

Israeli society is a society whose existence is under threat. Many see the sacrifices they are called on to make as being unavoidable or within the general order of things. Many consider these sacrifices to be part and parcel of the Israeli experience. This in turn generates fatalistic attitudes, whereby "those destined to live will live and those destined to die will die." Everything becomes quite simple. This is fertile soil for *Hozrim b'Tshuva* ("born-again" Jews).

Since the 1967 war Israeli policy has ceased to be realistic. The Labour alignment revealed a marked adversion to taking any decision about the future during its reign and this is again evident today. The watchword has become 'the preservation of the *status quo*.' When policies are not realistic they need the ideological underpinnings of nationalism, which is where religion and mystical scenarios come into the picture. The younger generation has grown up in an atmosphere of this kind and has now taken to seeking a simplistic solution that can guarantee their survival. The promotion of democracy only for Jews is one of the simplistic panaceas now being offered. It entails loading the Arabs onto trucks and dumping them off on the other side of the border.

Education as Indoctrination

Both ideological camps believe in education. But what they really mean by education is indoctrination. The problems facing the state and its citizens today are not educational problems; they are political problems and demand political solutions.

What ramifications does the current polarisation of Israeli society have on the educational system? Teachers have always been vulnerable to calls for the promotion of "Jewish consciousness" and "the instilling of values." Even back when Zalman Eran was the minister of education, signs of polarisation had already become apparent and attempts were made to provide school pupils with a common outlook that could bridge the gap. Israeli education is ideological in nature. Indeed, many justify the existence of the system by its providing a framework for molding children in the image of their teachers. When Zalman Eran discerned signs of polarisation he came out with a magic formula: "Jewish consciousness." The former minister of education failed to understand that in a polarised society, Judaism does not take a single form.

After Eran came Aharon Yadlin, who replaced "the instilling of Jewish consciousness" with "the instilling of values." Whoever dabbles in idoctrination cannot escape its affects. Before teachers went into their classrooms to "instill Jewish consciousness" or "values," many tried to convince themselves that these notions really ought to be inculcated in the young. But the cultivation of democratic and humanistic values was not encouraged. There were a few teachers who refused to be party to nationalist and religious indoctrination; others said they didn't believe in what they were doing but were scared of losing their jobs. In some cases, teachers tried to convince themselves that they were doing the right thing only to discover at a later date that they couldn't talk about peace in their classrooms.

There are two competing educational strategies: the normative one and the one of "conscientiousness-raising." The normative strategy seeks to drill the view of the educators into their pupils. In a situation of social polarisation, many look for a way out. Teachers, being part of the general public, also seek a way out and thus fall prey to the solution offered by the nationalist and religious camps.

Security Mania

The chief salvationist mindset is a kind of security mania. Since Israel is in danger, we must all stick together. Security mania has made for an atmosphere of paranoia that has hampered the chances of peace. Thus, it is not important what the delegates at the Palestinian National Council said, nor is it important what Hussein said. We know that they're all liars, even before they utter a word.

Even a teacher who isn't religious but feels a need "to save" Israeli society often comes to view religion as a means of ensuring unity. Racism is rooted in the fear that Israeli society is on the verge of dissolution; in order to strengthen social cohesion, an internal enemy is sought out. Thus salvationists look to religion, nationalism and racism for answers to the questions of the day.

The alternative to the normative approach is "conscientisation." A teacher who adopts this strategy makes his pupils aware of their responsibility for the positions they assume. This is a rationalistic approach. Professor Zvi Lam is convinced that a child who has learned to think rationally will not become a fascist. If he supports racism, the teacher's duty is to make him aware of the meaning of racism. The schools should be permeated with the atmosphere of freedom, in which one can say whatever one chooses.

Does the present polarisation of Israeli society correspond to the political constellation? Zvi Lam does not think so. Not everyone who voted for the Labour alignment supports the views propounded by Aryeh Nehemkin, and perhaps MK Meir Shitrit is closer to the alignemnt doves than to his Likud cohorts. Social polarisation does not correspond to the division between the two large political blocs. And the blocs themselves are realy not all that politically coherent.

Hope For The Future?

Teachers who support democracy and are opposed to indoctrination must find a way of carrying out their educational roles in a polarised society. Teachers alone will not be able to get Israeli troops out of Lebanon nor will they be able to right the economic situation. But teachers can have an affect on the kind of society that develops in the next decade. Teachers who support democracy and oppose racism should organise themselves in a bipartisan manner. They must work out a democratic pedagogy and avoid indoctrination. They must try to create an atmosphere of intellectual freedom in their classrooms and perhaps the study of different political texts could foster this, like those of John Stuart Mill for instance. "If an atmosphere conducive to the freedom of expression can be developed in the schools — there is hope for the future," concluded Professor Zvi Lam. (Translation: Al Hamishmar, January 3, 1985).

"CREMISAN" Means Fine Wine

Cremisan monastery is located at the edge of a pine forest. AO/photo.

by Sami Aboudi

For 100 years the Cremisan label has been a synonym for good quality local wine. This summer, the Salesian-run Cremisan monastery, northwest of Bethlehem, celebrates its 100th anniversary of wine-making. The monastery's winery produces more than 15 brands of naturally distilled wine from West Bank vineyards which, the Italian monks say, are capable of competing with international brands.

The Cremisan monastery compound on the northern slope of Mount al-Ras (also known as Mount Everest, 924 metres high) is at the edge of a small pine forest west of Bethlehem. The main three-storey building, with its red-tile roof, overlooks a beautiful valley stocked with olive trees and vineyards. The monastery owns all the land, stretching down to the bottom of the valley called Wadi Ahmad and all the way to the top of the mountain, bordering the fenced Israeli settlement and military position of Har Gilo. In all, the monastery owns 700 dunums of land, one-third of which is covered with grapevines used to produce the famous Cremisan wine. The remaining two-thirds of the land are planted with olive groves and pine forest, all planted by the monks. The monastery's property also includes several sweet water springs; the largest one is called Ain Hantash (renamed Ain Boulus to honour Pope Paul VI).

Over a Century Old

The first monastery building was erected in 1873 by the Latin Patriarchate in Jerusalem, which bought the property a short time earlier from local farmers. The initiative to build the monastery in Palestine came from Canon Antonio Belloni, a priest in the Latin Patriarchate who later joined the Salesian order, which was founded in Italy by St John Bosco in 1859 to help youth. The monastery's name evolved from the Arabic name of the area — Kuraym Zein, which means a small vineyard of delicious grapes. In 1885, the Salesian monks built a small domestic winery. Both the century-old monastery building and the winery are still in use. In 1891, by special arrangement with the Latin Patriarchate, the property was formally turned over to the Salesian order, provided that they maintain residence there. The monastery is located on what is believed to have been an ancient village from the Canaanite era. Father Russo, who is in charge of the monastery, said that many pot shards have been uncovered in the area proving that the place was inhabited in the Bronze Age (the Canaanite period). The site also contains an ancient winery carved out of the mountain rocks. The winery consisted of three pools, each carved higher than the next, which flowed into one another. The first reservoir was where the grapes were crushed. The juice flowed into the second and larger pool. The floor of the second pool was paved with mosaic stone, some of which can still be seen from the sides. The juice would then flow into the third container, a deep, finely-carved pool, where it was stored for fermentation.

There are more than 20 rock-hewn tombs in the area as well which date back to the Second Temple and Roman eras. According to research done by Cremisan monks, the village must have been associated with the biblical city of Galem, the site of today's Palestinian town of Beit Jala.

The monastery is inhabited by 32 monks of different nationalities, all members of the Salesian order. Twelve are students in the tiny college of theological studies run by the monastery, which is affiliated to the Salesian University of Rome. The monks live a commune-like life and divide work among themselves. Father Mario, an Italian who teaches at the local college, said that 12 of the monks work in the winery and in the fields. Others teach in the college or do the kitchen and maintenance work. The monastery also employs 15 Palestinians from neighbouring Beit Jala and al-Walajeh village, who work in the fields and winery.

The Winery

Even though Palestine is famous for vine growing, the predominant Islamic religion, which prohibits any kind of alcohol consumption, impeded the development of any local commercial wine industry. Christian monasteries, which were scattered throughout Palestine, were the main centres for wine-making. The wine, which is important for Christian religious ceremonies, was distributed to other monasteries and churches.

Since the end of the last century, the Cremisan monastery in the Bethlehem area and the Latrun monastery west of Ramallah have been the two main and most famous wine-makers in Palestine. The Latin Patriarchate runs its own winery, producing wine only for their consumption.

Cremisan's winery started in 1885 on a very modest scale. Father Russo said that in their early years, they distributed wine to monasteries in the Bethlehem and Jerusalem areas and later sold wine commercially on a small scale throughout the country. "We had Arab agents in Nazareth, Haifa, Jaffa and Jerusalem before 1948," Father Russo said. During that time, wine was made by hand, using only primitive presses.

In 1968, the winery was completely renovated; the old pressing machine was taken out, painted in black and blue, and left on display in front of the main wine celler. Modern pressing, fermenting and bottling equipment was imported from Italy. The wine cellers were also expanded and new wooden barrels, each capable of holding between 1000 and 5000 litres of wine, were added, along with large concrete storages.

The new equipment raised the annual production capacity to 500,000 litres of assorted wines and grape juice. Father Russo said that they now produce at full capacity for sale year round. He added that almost one-third of their products are stored for aging.

With the increase in production, the monastery's vineyards could supply only 15 to 20 percent of the grapes needed. "More than 80 percent of the grapes used in the winery are now purchased from Palestinian farmers in the Bethlehem and Hebron areas," Father Russo said.

The old wine press was painted black and blue and put out on display in front of the main wine celler./AO photo.

Dry Wine	Sweet Wine	Liquors
Red (red)	Port (dark)	Noccino
Hock (white)	Messa (white)	Vino Chinato
Rose (mixture of white & red)	Port Extra	
Old Hock (white)	Marsalla	
Old Rose (2 years)	Sherry	
Rosso Vechio (6-8 years)	Vermouth	
David's Tower (4 years)		
Special Wines from One Brand of Grapes:	**Grape Juice**	**Brandy**
Carionano		
Aleatico		

Wine Making

Cremisan monks boast that wine making is "an art and a science." The two top experts in the winery hold degrees in wine making from Italian universities. They also run their own laboratory, which tests the quality of their wines for international standards. "We have to make sure that the wine tastes exactly right: not bitter, hard or too sweet," Brother Frassy, one of the two experts in the winery, explained.

Wine is prepared from freshly cultivated grapes. Usually white and red grapes are crushed separately because of the different degrees of fermentation they require. "White grapes must not be left to ferment with the skin and pulp residue or the wine develops a hard taste," Brother Frassy said. Red grapes must ferment with the pulpy residue for two or three days, after which the solid matter is taken out and the juice is left to ferment for 30 days. At this stage, the wine must be kept below 20 degrees centigrade. Brother Frassy said that this presents quite a problem since the average temperature in late July and August after the harvest in between 25 and 30 degress centigrade. To offset this problem, a special cooling system is used throughout the 30-day fermentation period.

After a month's ferment, the wine goes through a long purification process which involves double or triple filtering through special plastic and metal screens. The monks also use special minerals to keep the filtering system from blocking the screens. The minerals do not dissolve in wine or affect its taste or colour.

In the final filtering stage, the wine is passed through a special screen with invisible pores in order to ensure absolute purity. Brother Frassy said that this process of filteration is new. In the past, wine sediment gathered in the

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An Interview with Ali Khalili

Ali Khalili.

by Said al-Ghazali

Ali Khalili is one of a hundred poets in the Middle East whose literary motifs concentrate on the tragedy of Palestine and on the Palestinians' current political, social and cultural situation. Khalili, as well as other Middle Eastern poets who consider themselves spokespersons of their national consciousness and aspirations, cannot separate his poetic experience from politics and social changes. In Palestine, especially, poets are the tongues which eloquently express the people's current struggle for their national aspirations and for liberation.

Palestinian poets, playing the role of inciters of the masses, have been battling the idea of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine since the Balfour declaration was issued in 1917. Literary critics classified Palestinian poets according to major political events in Palestine so that poets became classified into four generations. The first poets, like Abd al-Rahim Mahmoud, Abd al-Karim Karmi (Abu Salma), Ibrahim Touqan and more than 50 other poets, are considered the founders of Palestinian nationalist poetry. No comprehensive study has been made of the extent of Palestinian literature at that time. Unpublished poetry for private audiences was the main genre; the great bulk of poets' works at that time have been lost or are still held in family libraries.

Generally speaking, poets resisted the British mandatory rule in Palestine. They urged the people to fight against the imposed immigration of Jews and their aim of establishing a homeland in Palestine

The introduction of national and social themes in poetry was a radical change that further developed Palestinian poetry. Poets began to abandon traditional topics. Once Abu Salma, Abd al-Rahim Mahmoud and Ibrahim Touqan planted the seeds of Palestinian nationalism, the 1936 revolt, which had a great impact on Palestinian national aspirations was clearly reflected in the poetry written at the time.

The decade after the 1948 defeat witnessed catastrophic social, political and cultural setbacks for the Palestinian people. Poetry in the early 1950s was primarily written in lamentation over the loss of Palestine. However, some critical views surfaced in this era to sharpen sentiments against "the magestic Arab kings and presidents." Abu Salma, who died in 1982, was the strongest voice against traditional Arab regimes.

The third stage started in the late 1950s and 1960s when Arab masses experienced the surge of Arab nationalism. Many poets fully supported the Nasserite pan-Arab movement and its outgrowth, the Arab national movement. Arab unity was the most popular theme for poets of the day

The fourth political phase began after the 1967 war, which prompted intense self-criticism throughout the Arab world. Palestinian resistance poetry was a new label for the poetry of Mahmoud Darwish, Samih al-Qassem, Tawfiq Zayyad and Salem Joubran. These poets, writing from "inside," were considered heroes as they personally encountered all forms of the occupation's harassment at a time when Arab regimes failed to stop the Israeli assault of 1967. No Arab critics dared criticise the poetry coming from Palestine.

A movement of young Palestinian poets also sprang up after 1967. They imitated the style of older poets but some of them began to develop a distinctive voice. In poetry published recently in the occupied territories, much emphasis has been placed on Palestinianism rather than on Arabism.

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Ali Khalili is an active, locally well-known poet belonging to the third political generation of poets.

In the following interview, conducted by *Said al-Ghazali*, Khalili gives his own detailed description and ideas about Palestinian literature.

Q: Why do you write poetry and for whom you write? How have your motives changed or developed over different literary phases and stages of progress you have experienced?

A: Why and for whom do I write poetry? The question could be asked of all types of art It is a question that has different answers — in accordance with the poet's philosophy and, necessarily, the philosophy of the current era. Obviously, my answer is not the same as it was at previous stages of my poetic development It has changed according to changes in my experience itself. Now, why do I write poetry? Simply because I want to write. I feel pleasure in writing. I find self-fulfillment. I do not perceive myself as anything other than an individual poet

For whom do I write? I write not only for myself but also for the public. The poet cannot be creative in isolation but only through contacts with people. Poetry is contact and explosion. While it is true that poetry emanates from one's personality and is created with astonishing love and enjoyment, a poet dies if he cannot communicate with others. In direct political terms this means: I write for the masses by writing for myself also. I want readers to feel the same level of reaction I feel when I write poetry. I wish to effect change by using the hammer of the artist. Yes, poetry is a hammer At the same time, it is a lute and a violin.

Q: Can you tell us about those Palestinian poets who are poetry's "pinnacles"? How do you compare yourself with them?

A: It is splendid that the mountain has 20 peaks, and perhaps 30. The most important thing is that the mountain never has only one peak. The climbers of the giant mountain gaze only on the peaks. But it is also a fact that our eyes dwell on the bulk of the mountain on which the relatively petty peaks stand.

This is an introduction for my answer: never mind the peaks. In literature, it is a relative issue. The literary movement itself is the most important thing. What is the size of this movement? What is the potential of other peaks forming? It it a real mountain?

I believe that our Palestinian poetry movement is discernable all over the Arab world, and globally as well. It comes from the sea of the Palestinian revolution, from the sacrifices of our people. It is, then, the mountain of revolution, and not only of poetry. We can observe several great Palestinian poets who are internationally respected, such as Fadwa Touqan, Mahmoud Darwish, Sami al-Qassem and the late poets Abd al-Karim Karmi, Mu'in Bseiso, Abd al-Rahim Mahmoud and others. It is very difficult to compare myself with them. I am happy to be a part of the mountain itself, and I realise that to reach the peak is a great aspiration. I must proceed by depending on my own poetic potential and by imitating the great symbols of others.

Q: To which generation of poets do you belong?

A: I belong to the generation that began to rise with the growth of Arab nationalism in the 1960s. My poetry was at first direct and rhetorical. The Arab poets expected that national unity would occur soon. We thought that Arab nationalism was closing ranks.

After the 1967 defeat, a new generation came. The clear and open Palestinian revolution had its own great impact on the generations. The revolution reinforced the existence and progress of Palestinian culture. I do not think it is a question of generational differences but of class conflict. For instance, Abu Salma lived through four generations and represented the revolutionary national class in his poetry. There are no fixed barriers between generations. Abu Salma was able to share in common with the current generations as well as with previous ones. This is the secret of his genius as a pioneer poet.

Q: What relation is there between the poet in exile and the poet in captivity? Are there any differences between these poets who lived under different conditions?

A: Homeland and exile in Palestinian poetry are two faces of one coin. The homeland is occupied and the exile is governed by Arab regimes that attempt to kill the soul of homeland, the power of imagination and Palestinian civilisation. It is one battle stretching from the "occupied territories to the sea" and in "exile until the desert."

The Palestinian poet in Haifa, Nablus, Gaza, Beirut, al-Quds or Mecca lives under similar conditions. The poet attempts to transcend, by all means, occupation, exile and captivity. The poet revolts, grieves, dies.

It is impossible to differentiate between poets of the homeland and poets of the diaspora. All Palestinian poets suffer from the same wound. There are no territorial differences; it is all one poem, one epic. How else can we understand then the peak of Mahmoud Darwish in Cyprus or Paris or the peak of Samih al-Qassem in Haifa, the peak of Fadwa Touqan in Nablus and the peak of Mu'in Bseiso while he was dying in London?

Q: What is your opinion about the post-1967 movement of young poets?

A: The youth movement is an important part of "the mountain" which we discussed. I believe that there are enough talented poets in the occupied territories that we can speak about the possibility of a good future for local poetry. Young poets perhaps have their own shortcomings. Their imagination is photographic. For instance, they compare night's darkness with a black woman but they do not see in the darkness their own grief and sufferings.

Ninety percent of poetry is mere fabrication. Because of the liberty in rhythm, young poets break all rules. Editors of the cultural and literary pages in newspapers and magazines from Nouakchott Mauritania to Beirut, Lebanon do not heed quality. The young poets do not understand the standards of modernity. There is no depth to their writings. The young poets are always angry because of the political, social and economic oppression they live under. Therefore, there is no balance to their writing. We are living in a difficult time that prevents us from discovering new poets.

Q: Do modern schools of literature have an impact on your poetry?

A: In the occupied territories, we live under siege, so we have no access to the modern schools in the world. We write our poetry and at the same time we confront occupation. The modern schools, as much as I know about them from some magazines, books and newspapers mailed to us from abroad, are only concerned with form and not context. We are not in need of this kind of literary conflict.

Things are clear in our eyes — we need literature which fights against occupation. Tomorrow, in a time of leisure, we can be concerned with issues of form. Is this a justification? We don't know, and we won't stop writing.

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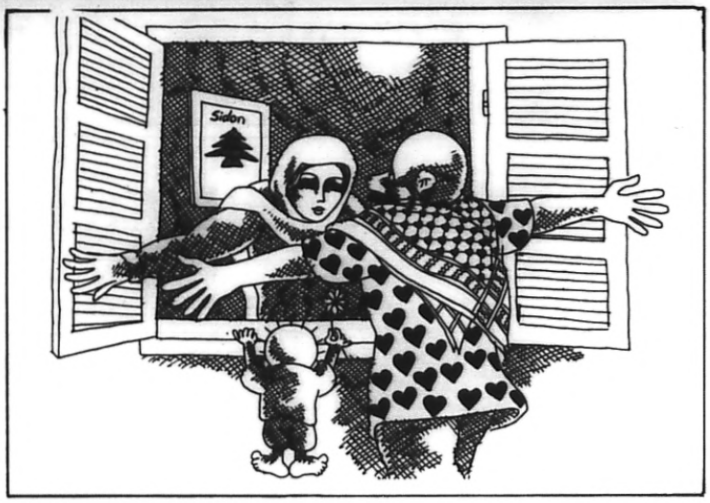
WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



The Palestinian-Jordanian agreement, announced February 11 when Yasir Arafat and King Hussein co-signed it, continued to preoccupy the attention of local Palestinian papers. The dailies published news reports of the latest events related to the accord on the Palestinian, Arab and international scenes. The first stage of the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon was prominently covered in news reports, editorials and photos.

The expulsion of Palestinian ex-prisoner Abu Ali Shahin to Lebanon, following the Israeli High Court's decision to uphold the order, was denounced by the press and by all local residents.

Hopes and Fears

The declaration of the Amman agreement is still highlighted by the Arab and international news media. The agreement is not a tactical move. It is the cornerstone of an Arab strategy for the coming political battle. There is undoubtedly inside activity in the Arab arena both for supporting and opposing the agreement. The US, the USSR and other countries of the world are studying the agreement before they respond to it.

Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories welcomed the agreement because their suffering is on the increase. They are fed up with the stalemate. The agreement is like sunshine after a long winter. It is the bridge between hope and despair.

Yet there are still fears. The Palestinian experience is bitter in this regard. We have heard about agreements before, but they vanished at the last minute and dashed all our hopes.

We call upon all Arabs, both the leaders and the people, to study the Amman agreement carefully and to give it a chance. If they do not do this, then the bridge separating hope and despair will collapse.

AL QUDS
February 14

The National Fixatives

Abu Jihad reiterated the national fixatives for the Palestinian political move. These fixatives are included in the resolutions of successive PNCs. They stress the PLO's role as sole representative of the Palestinian people and the Palestinians' right to return, to self-determination and to an independent state under the leadership of the PLO.

These fixatives also call for adherence to Arab summit resolutions, especially Fez (1982) and Rabat (1974). They support the idea of an international conference and confirm rejection of 242.

These fixatives have always been the guidelines for any Palestinian move and they constitute the core of the PLO's position.

AL SHA'AB
February 14

An Important Step

The Palestinian-Jordanian agreement began to draw political reaction at all levels, in view of its extreme importance. News agencies reported the impact of this agreement on the Israeli government, which was surprised and shocked by it. The successive Israeli governments have always maintained that any Palestinian-Jordanian dialogue would eventually lead to an agreement between Jordan and the PLO.

The US received the news with "great caution" at a time when US-Saudi talks resulted in no definite American policy on the Middle East.

The most significant reaction is that of the inhabitants of the occupied territories. All institutions and political, social and economic forces stressed their support of the PLO under the leadership of Yasir Arafat and his approach. They considered the agreement a historic event.

On the other hand, rejection of the agreement was not based on careful study. It stemmed from opposition to any Palestinian-Jordanian action and the resolutions of the 17th PNC session.

We confirm our full confidence in our legitimate leadership.

AL FAJR
February 14

Reagan and our Legitimate Rights

Two points are interesting in the joint Saudi-US communique. The first concerns the search for a lasting and just solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The second relates to ensuring the security of all states in the region and of Palestinian rights.

A close look at the communique reveals that the US had agreed to the Fez resolutions in which all Arabs endorsed the principle of peace and peaceful coexistence of all peoples in the region in addition to their emphasis on Palestinian legitimate rights. Does this mean that the US is closer now to conducting a dialogue with the PLO? Does the US support the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to return and an independent state?

The answer is clear. The US rejects all these principles. So, the communique has two interpretations of Palestinian rights. The US understands these rights to encompass only education, health and quality of life. King Fahd should have explained to the Americans that the Palestinian rights start with a declaration of support for the right to self-determination and recognition of the PLO.

We, the Palestinians, believe that our rights are sacred.

AL QUDS
February 15

Fixatives and the Agreement

The national fixatives for the Palestinian national movements provide a firm base for understanding the Amman agreement. When the news media started to report the agreement, Khalil al-Wazir made clear these national fixatives that stress commitment to legitimacy —Palestinian, Arab and international. The emphasis on the commitment to the right of self-determination and to an independent Palestinian state is something natural. The eight items of the agreement as published by the Kuwaiti paper *Al Anba'* do not contradict the fixatives.

If those who oppose the agreement are unable to understand the new changes, Washington and Israel are also unable to understand the "surprise." So all of them agree on rejecting the agreement. The Israeli paper *HaAretz* reported that the agreement undermined the agreement reached between Rabin and Reagan.

AL FAJR
February 15

The Agreement

A few days prior to his departure for Tunis, Abu Ammar stated that he did not expect a ch[illegible]e in the American attitude. He added that the whole issue rests upon a common Arab effort.

Unfortunately, some people did not realise the significance of this statement. Yet, the Palestinian leadership had to make a political move.

We are living through conditions that involve signals about a new phase represented by *rapprochement* between the US and the USSR. These new circumstances make it necessary that the Palestinian issue be at the heart of the matter.

The gist of Abu Ammar's statement lies in his denial of any illusions some might have had about an imminent solution via the American gate. This is a fact that should be realised by all.

Above all, Abu Ammar's statement clearly says there is no fish to catch — so why quarrel on how to fry it?

AL SHA'AB
February 16

The Illusion of American Credibility

[illegible]

No sooner had US President Reagan commented on the Amman agreement by saying it was a step on the road to a settlement than the US ambassador to Israel, Samuel Lewis, conveyed a "verbal message" from Reagan to Prime Minister Peres, assuring him that as long as the PLO does not recognise Israel's right to exist and does not abandon terrorism, it will not be possible to move toward peace.

By referring to Reagan's comment, we did not mean to deny that the US blindly supports Israel. Nor do we mean to imply that Reagan has become interested in legitimate Palestinian rights. What we meant to point out is the fact that when Israeli officials "denounced" the agreement, the US administration was quick, through the verbal message, to pat Israel's shoulder and assure it that Reagan's "praise" of the agreement — to which the Palestinians are a party — does not mean a change in Washington's hostile policy toward the PLO.

Washington's opposition to the idea of an international conference and its insistence on the Reagan plan is the irrefutable proof that the US is not interested in real peace and therefore lacks the necessary credibility to bring it about.

AL FAJR
February 16

Israel Clamps Down

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The hasty withdrawal began on the morning of February 16 and the army was completely out of Sidon by midday. Soldiers of the 1,34th unit of the regular Lebanese army then entered Sidon two-and-a-half hours later and started clearing the area of mines and taking up positions near the new Israeli army lines. Journalists covered the event in full. The many Israeli predictions of internal massacres failed to materialise.

The Lebanese army's entry into Sidon was welcomed by cheers and greetings from local Sidon residents, who received the soldiers with rice and flowers. Lebanese groups began to settle scores with Lebanese who had collaborated with the Israelis. The Israeli army rescinded its original plan to keep the Sidon port in the hands of SLA troops after it became clear that SLA units, plagued by wide-scale desertions, would not be able to hold onto it.

Lebanese President Amin Jemayel and Prime Minister Rashid Karameh visited Sidon February 17 and were received with a big welcome by local Lebanese.

The following day armed residents from Beirut arrived in Sidon and carried out a violent demonstration in the streets of Sidon. The demonstrators, who are said to belong to *Hizballah*, an extremist Shi'ite movement, broke into bars and destroyed

alcoholic beverages. Raising pictures of Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeini and Lebanese Shi'ite leader Mousa Sadr, who disappeared in 1979, the demonstrators burned a Lebanese flag and called for the establishment of an Islamic republic.

The Lebanese government subsequently announced plans to prevent such actions from recurring. The Lebanese army fortified its presence on the main Beirut-Sidon highway and was ordered February 20 by the army chief of staff to stop the infiltration of armed groups into Sidon.

Calendar

February 21 — 7:00 pm

Film: "*1789*" at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, East Jerusalem, (French, with English subtitles).

February 23 — 7:00 pm

A Meeting of Solidarity with Dheisheh camp residents will be held by *Derech HaNitzotz* newspaper, in Tel Aviv. Residents from the camp will speak. For more details, call: (03) 398-786.

Cremisan

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bottom of the bottle — a harmless but unsightly residue.

After filtering, the wine is taken through a process of "flash pasturisation" to kill bacteria. "This is important to prevent further fermentation in the wine, which would destroy its taste," Brother Frassy said. A special machine pushes the liquid through heated pipes and returns from another side. The hot wine is then poured into sterilised bottles, sealed and corked.

Cremisan wine is primarily marketed locally, in the West Bank and in Israel. Father Russo said that the Israeli authorities made no restrictions on wine exports to Israel and that their agents are the ones who worked before 1948. The monastery, however, is obliged to buy Israeli-made bottles. The monastery also sends about 100,000 bottles of its products each year to Jordan, over the bridges, and on occasion it exports to Europe and the United States. In 1982 the monastery turned down an offer to export a large quantity of wine "because we could not supply it without disrupting local sales," Father Russo said.

The monastery's sales have dropped in recent years, said Father Russo. He explained that the worsening economic conditions in Israel have not left anyone unaffected. "People are cutting down on their expenses, and wine is a luxury they try to save on," he added. ■

Interview with a Leader

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President Mubarak, Shukri said: "King Hussein was replying to those in the Arab world who argue that renewed relations with Egypt means Jordan's acceptance of the accords and their principles. The Jordanian king, on the other hand, was saying that it is wrong to make Egypt rethink the accords by a boycott. The right approach is to try to reach Egypt and help it back into Arab ranks. It was very good of President Mubarak to relay to the Palestinians in Amman that Egypt is a power on their side. I want to add that the Arabs are a necessary power for Egypt as well. The fact that President Mubarak did not mention the Camp David accords in his reply speech was a good gesture on his part. President Mubarak was careful not to give Israel excuses by criticising Camp David and the peace treaty, but he also did not defend them when the king criticised the accords.

"The issue is not Camp David anymore; the issue now is how to deal with the current situation facing us. History will not forgive us for the level of deterioration the Arab world has sunk to, especially in regard to the Palestinian question."

About an Egyptian-Jordanian-Iraqi-Palestinian axis, Shukri commented, "I believe that Egypt made it clear, and I attest to that, that Egypt doesn't support pacts but that it is interested in improving its ties with all Arab countries. We welcome those who seek to improve ties with us. When our Libyan border heated up, the president announced the redeployment of our forces from the Western front. Egypt, then, doesn't seek pacts but a unified Arab front. The objective now is not to create new divisions in the Arab world but to heal the old ones." ■

Ali Khalili

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Q: What themes do you discuss in your poetry?

A: Palestine is the subject and the substance of my poetry. This is not a speech. Palestine includes everything from the smallest topics related to self to the largest events in the world. Our poetic vision has developed in accordance with our comprehension of the Palestinian cause. This union between politics and humanity is what makes poetry in all my poetic collections, a union that has been gradually developed.

I have my own critical view, that is my belief in social realism. I claim to know things; Marxism is my lamp to see the details.

Q: What about "obscurity"? Is there any relationship between obscurity and the lack of concern of the masses with poetry?

A: What is obscurity? What is mass interest? What is poetry? These questions will continue. In our age, the *Diwan al-Arab*, where Arabs used to gather and discuss poetry, no longer exists. Poetry has primarily become the interest of the intellectual elite. Therefore, music is spreading wid[illegible] the songs of Um Kalthum, Abd al-Wahab, Abd al-Halim... etc. The comtemporary poem has lost the interest of the masses. At schools and universities, there is only the classical, dead poem. Poetic obscurity is not responsible for the masses lack of interest. Rather, Arab "exported technology" denies the existence of poetry. Give me one Arab broadcast, one TV programme that is concerned about modern poetry. Tell me about an Arab prize to evaluate the creative poet. Give me the name of one Arab poet who was not imprisoned, bribed, deported or oppressed. Besides the new technology, we can add the aggressive attitude of the Arab authorities to the list of reasons why the masses have lost interest in poetry.

Poetry resembles drawing, music and dance, which can also, on occasion, be obscure. Poetry is not reality that is controlled by language, logic and memory. It is the power of imagination, "the magician." I do not want to attack literary styles. However, I also do not want to restrict myself within their contexts. Otherwise, we kill literature and accept the fetters levied by our oppressors. ■

Dheisheh

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pick it up on the street. The whole camp is a university."

"The kid who blew up our troop carrier — how old do you think he was? That little animal! Why, he was just about as old as my pupils," said Rami Dizni, writing about the RPG kids in the wake of the Lebanon War. "I shot him in the head, the little bastard, but he screwed up my life all the same."

'Ahed usually got home from school at about 12:30. Lunch consisted of soup, lentils, mashed beans and stuffed cabbage. Sometimes the family eats one of the cabbages or eggplants it grows in its small patch of a garden. After lunch, 'Ahed would do his homework and then go out to play. The camp's youth club was closed down by the authorities three years ago.

'Ahed didn't have to be home or in bed by any particular time. But there are no street lights in Dheisheh. The only nighttime illumination comes from the security floodlights on the road; their light refracts off the frozen puddles on the conrete, are so much in evidence there. Sometimes 'Ahed would watch television; he liked *The Ravens* and *Blue Thunder; Sesame Street* was his favourite.

Astrologists say that Cancers have fertile imaginations. In a place like Dheisheh, you need one. *Everything is narrow and ugly, cold and wet; and when the cesspits fill up they begin to stink. During the winter the sky is overcast and oppressive, and there are always soldiers standing on the rooftops.*

Natives of Zakariya

Most of the residents of Dheisheh arrived there in 1948, fleeing from the Zakariya region. Over the years their memories of Zakariya have become more and more foggy; today, all they remember is that they used to have a lot of land and plenty of olive trees. When the al-Issa family arrived at Dheisheh — to the shit and concrete world of a refugee camp —'Ahed's father bought a large plot of land from an old man from Zakariya, thinking that it wouldn't be long before they returned home. Then, things would be as they were before and instead of the small patch of a garden they had in the camp, they'd have an olive grove; their cesspit would be replaced by an artificial pool, and their fetid WC — by a courtyard covered with grapevines.

But on the night of Monday, October 15, Captain Karim and a bunch of soldiers and border policemen surrounded the al-Issa house, broke open the gate and pounded on the door. Mousa — one of 'Ahed's brothes — had seen them coming and shook Ahad out of his slumbers. Brusquely awakened, 'Ahed and Nash'at were manacled and put into a security van which took them to the lock-up at Moscobiyya. Twenty-two days later, Nash'at was released on bail and 'Ahed remained alone.

Now he's a prisoner at the Damour prison. To visit him, you have to pay JD30 (US$70) for a taxi to get there. Then you can spend up to two hours waiting for permission to go in. "You can touch fingertips through the metal lattice," Nash'at told me.

'Ahed was expecting a five-month sentence. That was what his family was told prior to the trial. But during the trial, the prosecutor held out for a severe sentence. If they don't stop to think about the lives of their Jewish victims, they should at least consider their fellow Arabs; a bus driver hit by a stone could easily lose control of his vehicle and run over some of the children who always play by the side of the road. How long can we let this sort of thing continue unchecked?

The judges ruled that "incidents of this kind must be rooted out." They didn't take long to pronounce sentence. Mrs al-Issa cried throughout the trial. The week after, she went to Jordan to visit an ailing daughter. 'Ahed remained in Damour — expiating the sins of Dheisheh. (Translation: Hadashot, February 8, 1985). ■

WEEKLY REVIEW

Mahmoud Arabi Freitekh, 37, from Nablus, was transferred from prison this week to Maqassed Hospital with an advanced case of intestinal cancer. Freitekh had served seven years of a 20-year sentence before prison officials agreed to release him after a year of appeals by family and lawyers Doctors said he could have survived the disease if he had had early and proper treatment./AO photo.

February 13, 1985

JAYYUS RESIDENT HARASSED

Abdullah Mukbel of the village of Jayyus in the Qalqilya district has been under constant Israeli harassment to force him to give up his land. His 100-dunum plot called al A'akad, is located within the village. It is situated on the road to the three settlements of Yakir, Emmanuel and Kanat Burkan. A paved road has been planned to connect the three settlements, hence the importance of Mukbel's plot.

On the night of January 25, Israeli troops stormed Mukbel's house on the pretext that they were searching for his son who had left six months earlier to study in India after receiving an official permit to do so. The house of Mukbel's brother, who is serving a three-year jail term, was demolished for no reason.

Occasionally Mukbel's house is stormed by members of the Israeli-backed Village League on the pretext they are searching for antiques.

JENIN STUDENTS JAILED

YAMUN — A military court in Nablus sentenced two students from the village of Yamun in the Jenin district to two months in prison and four months suspended. Mohammed Saleh Mabda Nawahdeh and Abd al-Nasser Mustafa Khalil Abu al-Haijah were charged with demonstrating.

BZU SYMPOSIUM

BIR ZEIT — The Educational Committee of Bir Zeit University held a political symposium entitled "The Status Quo in the Palestinian Arena."

Various student factions attended. The main topic was Palestinian national unity. The financial situation (in the occupied territories) and the recent Palestinian-Jordanian agreement were also discussed.

LAND GRAB RESCINDED

DURA — The Israeli military objections committee has recommended that the order to confiscate lands owned by the al-Rajub family in Dura village in the Hebron district be rescinded. The family s 2500 dunums are situated in the areas of Wadi Khazen, Kariseh and Khirbit Humseh. Ten families depend on this land for their livelihood.

PHARMACY CAFE CLOSED

BALATA — A pharmacy and a cafe in Balata refugee camp in the Nablus district were ordered closed for three days by the Israeli authorities after stones were thrown at an Israeli vehicle near the camp.

HEBRON TRUCK DRIVERS STRIKE

Truck owners and drivers in Hebron staged a sit-in opposite the customs and income tax offices in the city to protest the authorities decision to issue tax booklets for them.

About 400 trucks stopped work as their owners and drivers staged a three-hour sit-in protest, which was intended as a warning to the income tax department.

February 14, 1985

ISRAELIS CLOSE 30 SHOPS

NABLUS — The Israeli authorities ordered 30 shops on Hittin Street in Nablus closed and summoned the merchants to the local military headquarters after an Israeli army vehicle was stoned on the same street. The previous day the authorities ordered the closure of ten other shops on Faisal Street in Nablus for the same reason.

"HANDS OFF"

DHEISHEH — The Committee for the Defence of Palestinian Refugee Camps has appealed to international bodies and organisations to intervene with the Israelis. The Committee demanded that settler harassment and provocations against Dheisheh camp be ceased and that all residents presently detained be released.

ISRAEL RESTRICTS MUSLIM HAJ

Israel imposed new restrictions on Muslim pilgrimages to Mecca by Arabs from inside the 1948 borders. Only those over 35 who have never made the *haj* are permitted to travel this year, an Interior Ministry spokesperson announced.

The ministry decided that younger pilgrims, under 35, present a security risk.

The ministry will prohibit pilgrims who have already been to Mecca from making a return pilgrimage.

MERCHANTS PROTEST TAX HIKE

BETHLEHEM — Fruit and vegetable merchants from Bethlehem staged a four-hour sit-in at the Bethlehem municipality to protest a hike in taxes levied on their shops in the local market (*hisbeh*) and the closure of market entrances. These taxes are not levied in any other West Bank town.

AL-BIREH STREET REOPENED

AL-BIREH — The Israeli authorities lifted the partial curfew on Jamal Abd al-Nasser Street in al-Bireh, which was imposed about two weeks ago after an Israeli soldier was shot dead in the Ramallah centre.

STUDENT SENTENCED

RAMALLAH — The Ramallah military court sentenced student Munthir Fanoun of the village of Nahalin to two years in prison and a similar suspended sentence on security charges.

February 15, 1985

GOLAN DRUZE DETAINED

MAJDAL SHAMS — The Israelis detained a number of Druze from the Golan Heights who were suspected of hoisting Syrian flags during a big march on the third anniversary of Israel's decision to annex the Golan. Among those arrested were: Fawaz Safadi 35, Alam al-Din Zaid. 24, and Nabil Mahmoud 23. All are from the village of Majdal Shams.

NEW SETTLEMENT ROAD

SAWAHREH AL-SHARQIYEH — The Israelis have lately paved a new settlement road near the house of farmer Mohammed Mousa Mashhur in the al-Sararat area in the Sawahreh al Sharqiyeh village.

3 TEACHERS DISMISSED

BEIT SAHOUR — The Israeli civil administration officer in charge of education and culture dismissed three Palestinian teachers from their jobs in Beit Sahour. No reasons were given. The three — Munthir Jiryis Qumsieh Muna Khader Musleh and Maher Mita al-Atrash — are all residents of Beit Sahour.

February 16, 1985

HAND GRENADE AT BIDYA MUKHTAR

BIDYA — A hand grenade was thrown at the *mukhtar* of Bidya village in the Nablus district, Israel TV reported. The grenade failed to explode and the police detained a number of suspects for questioning, the report said.

Last month unidentified gunmen fired several shots at the same *mukhtar* wounding him slightly.

February 17, 1985

JENIN PRISON OVERCROWDED

The Israeli officer in charge of prisons in the occupied territories, Binyamin Hakimeh, confirmed that there is severe overcrowding in Jenin prison.

The statement was included in a letter which Hakimeh sent to advocate Walid Fahoum in response to the latter's letter of November 11, 1984, which noted that the situation in the prison was intolerable with every 14 prisoners living in a 10-metre cell for 23 hours a day.

ISRAELI BUS STONED

RAMALLAH — Israel Radio reported that an Israeli bus was stoned while travelling on the road near al-Am'ari refugee camp in Ramallah. A passenger was slightly injured. Israeli troops closed the area for investigation.

2 ISRAELI BUSES STONED

JERUSALEM — The Hebrew daily *HaAretz* reported that two Israeli buses were attacked with stones inside Jerusalem. The first was attacked near the Mea Shearim quarter and the second near Bab al-Sahera (Herod's Gate) in the Old City.

PALESTINIAN WOMAN RELEASED, 2 MEN JAILED

RAMALLAH — Ramallah military court ordered the release of Aisheh Samar Said Hanoun of the villge of Anabta near Tulkarm on IS500,000 bail. She was held in detention for 18 days on charges of transferring a letter from her brother, who is detained at Jnaid prison, to Amman.

The same court sentenced Kamal Kamel Im Rayesh Abu Shkeidom to 15 months in prison and a similar suspended sentence on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation, weapons training and manufacturing explosives.

Yousef Mohammed Yousef Asi of the village of Beit Likiya was sentenced by the same court to eight months in prison and 16 months suspended on charges of possessing an automatic machine gun (Uzi) and five hand grenades, membership in a Palestinian organisation and setting up roadblocks.

February 18, 1985

1500 DETAINEES FATE UNKNOWN

GENEVA — Israel is currently holding 1500 Palestinian and Lebanese detainees whose fate is unknown, the International Committee of the Red Cross announced.

It said all attempts to get word about the detainees' whereabouts had failed because Israel refuses to implement the Geneva Convention agreement regarding prisoners and detainees.

SETTLER DETAINS 3 YOUTHS

JAMA'IN — An Israeli settler detained three Arab youths from the village of Jama'in whom he alleged had erected roadblocks on a settlement road and tossed stones at Israeli vehicles.

Rosel Levy, a bus driver from Tefuah settlement, was driving his bus near the village when he approached a makeshift roadblock on the main road.

Armed with a Kalashnikov automatic rifle, Levy chased three youths who were near the roadblock. The three, however, managed to escape and the settler called in reinforcements of settlers and army. He apprehended one of the youths who revealed the identities of his two friends, according to an Israeli newspaper report.

Mothers of prisoners sit-in at the East Jerusalem Red Cross headquarters to protest the bad conditions in all prisons./AO photo.

CRISIS AT NEW MARKET

BETHLEHEM — About 300 merchants from the old market in Bethlehem staged a sit-in at the city's municipality to protest a new tax levied on them and to demand the removal of a gate built at the entrance to the market.

The merchants, accompanied by their families, met with Mayor Elias Freij and presented their demands. Freij, however, rejected the demands and called an emergency meeting of the municipal council to discuss the issue.

ISLAMIC U GETS MILITARY NOD

GAZA — The Israeli military commander of the Gaza Strip received Ahmad Hassan al-Shawwa, head of the Islamic University Board of Trustees in Gaza, and discussed with him a number of issues concerning the university.

The Israeli official agreed to a request by al-Shawwa to allow the establishment of a new building for university staff members.

February 19, 1985

SODA POP YOUTHS SENTENCED

JERUSALEM — Jerusalem district court sentenced Daoud Mohammed Khashan to one-and-a-half years in prison and two years suspended sentence and Adel Hassan Abu Izneid, Khaled Jamal al-Emleh, Imad Saleh al-Khatib. Riyad Abd al-Rahman Abu Hodan and Akram Taher Geith to six months in prison and another six months suspended sentence.

The six youths are all from Shu'fat camp. They were convicted of throwing Molotov cocktails at the Israeli Coca-Cola factory near the camp on two different occasions.

BZU LECTURER RELEASED

JENIN — Jenin military court released Bir Zeit University lecturer Munthir Isma'il Abd al-Fatah without bail.

Abd al-Fatah was arrested February 13 and questioned on contacts with "the enemy" eight years ago. He has been held in Jenin prison since his arrest.

CUSTOMS RAID IN NABLUS

NABLUS — Israeli customs officials raided several shops in Nablus, collected the ID's of the merchants and asked them to report to the Customs Office in Nablus.

Several shops closed their shutters following the raid and commercial life was temporarily stopped.

Workers

continued from page 16

against Palestinians employed in the markets and threaten to assault workers from the occupied territories in Israeli factories. It is regrettable that even one of the leaders of the General Federation of Labour, the Histadrut, Mordechai Amster, secretary of the Building Workers' Union, has declared: "The building workers from the (occupied) territories will be the first to be fired if the forecasts regarding the dismissal of thousands of building workers become true; they are not inhabitants of Israel and in every country with unemployment the foreign workers are the first to be dismissed" (*HaAretz*, November 18, 1983). "...Priority in the building trade in the country is reserved to Israeli building workers..." In an informative interview with *HaAretz* six days later, Amster interpreted his declaration: "Migrant workers in West Europe are the first dismissed in times of crisis. In Israel it will be the same" (*HaAretz*, November 24, 1983).

Gaps in Wages and Rights

As far as temporary and unregistered workers are concerned, a large gap sometimes exists between the wages and social rights of Israeli workers and those of the workers from the occupied territories, to the detriment of the latter, of course. The average monthly salary of a worker from the occupied territories varies from US$150 to US$250.

Because of the galloping inflation in the Israeli economy, reaching an annual unofficial average of over 1260 percent, following the frequently sharp price rises (from which the Israeli worker also suffers), the purchasing power of the wages of the workers from the occupied territories is constantly declining.

Another factor that has a severe effect on the income of the workers in the occupied territories is collective punishment. A curfew imposed on their place of domicile prevents them from going to work; the military roadblocks send back buses of workers who go to work in Israel or delay them for hours. The workers frequently lose work days without any compensation.

About 80 percent of the Palestinian labourers from the occupied territories who work in Israel return to their homes every day. This involves expenses and many hours lost on the roads. About 14 percent return to their homes once a week. The Israeli authorities do not allow workers from the occupied territories who are employed in Israel to stay in Israel within the borders of the "green line" from midnight until 5:00 am. Those who are forced to stay in Israel overnight need a permit from the security authorities, which involves a lot of investigation and harassment. The authorities make frequent checks at night in places workers from the occupied territories use to sleep; these checks are accompanied by arbitrary acts and humiliation. Those who are caught without a permit have to expect trouble, fines and arrests. The workers from the occupied areas sleep in inhuman conditions, in rooms and sheds without hygienic services. Sometimes the employers lock them up. A few years ago two workers from the occupied territories were burned alive when the storeroom they locked up in caught fire.

Since the beginning of the occupation, the Israelis have deducted national insurance fees and payments for other social services from the inhabitants of the occupied territories who work in Israel. This revenue is transferred to the government employment service. These deducted amounts are estimated to add up to tens of millions of dollars, but the workers do not benefit from them. The trade unions in the occupied territories demand that these amounts be remitted to them to benefit the workers.

The Jordanian labour law, adopted in 1965, is valid in the West Bank. The Israeli occupation authorities have left this law in force without applying the positive amendments added to the law in Jordan in 1972 and 1981, while introducing several arbitrary, anti-democratic alterations. For instance: the paragraph concerning the election of workers' representatives to the trade unions has been modified. The changes introduced by the occupation authorities provide that a person who has been arrested or put on trial is not entitled to be elected to any trade union institution; obviously, many have been arrested in the occupied territories because of the political struggle conducted there against the occupation. The Israelis also demand that the list of candidates for elections to a trade union has to be submitted one month in advance to the military authorities, who are entitled to delete the name of any candidate without giving a reason.

112 'Illegal' Unions

Some 140 trade unions are active in the West Bank. Only 28 of them have the permits required by the Jordanian and Israeli authorities. The rest have not received any answer to the applications submitted for the approval of the Israeli authorities. Six trade unions with 460 members were active in the Gaza Strip until the Israel conquest in 1967. From the beginning of the occupation, the Israelis issued a regulation forbidding trade unions to admit any new members. In other words, the workers of Gaza are deprived of the elementary human right of labour organisation.

The occupation authorities restrict trade union activities in the West Bank. Frequently trade union centres and their clubs are harassed, searches are carried out and all documents are seized. Trade union leaders are frequently arrested for arbitrary investigations. Some of them are forbidden to leave their places of domicile for months. Some are ordered to stay in their homes from dusk to dawn, to report once or twice a day at the local police station and to be prepared for police visits to their homes at night to make sure they have not violated the confinement order.

A split occurred in the West Bank trade unions several years ago. Recently it was reported that contacts are taking place and efforts are being made to re-establish the unity of the trade union movement. If these efforts prove successful, all workers will benefit.

The leadership of the Histadrut seeks to organise the workers of the occupied territories in its ranks. These efforts have two purposes: 1) to back the attempts of a *de facto* annexation of the occupied territories to the state of Israel; 2) to get their hands on the huge amounts of money deducted as social insurance from the wages of workers from the occupied territories. It must be added, however, that the Histadrut faction of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality is vehemently opposed to these attempts by the Histadrut leadership. The faction demands that all persecution against trade union leaders in the occupied territories be stopped, that Israel withdraw from the areas conquered in the June War of 1967 and that an independent state be established in the West Bank and Gaza, including East Jerusalem, at the side of the sovereign state of Israel.

When we deal with issues of human rights in the occupied territories, it is our duty to defend the rights of the masses of workers, who are the majority of the people in these territories. ■

Joseph Algazy, of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, summarised the conditions of workers in the occupied territories for a meeting in Paris of human rights activists. The conference, held in November, was entitled "Six Hours for Human Rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territories."

The Situation of Workers in the Occupied Territories

One of the complex issues concerning the situation of the Palestinian inhabitants in the areas occupied by Israel following the war of June 1967 – the West Bank and the Gaza Strip – is the workers' conditions in these areas.

The population of the West Bank numbers about 830,000 and that of the Gaza Strip about 470,000 inhabitants – a total of about 1,300,000 people. Over 700,000 are refugees, nearly 300,000 of whom live in refugee camps under the auspices of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA).

The adult population in the working age in these areas numbers about 700,000. Only a little less than 250,000 are wage-earners, approximately 220,000 of whom are men, and only about 30,000, women.

The working population is employed in the following occupations: agriculture – 30 percent; industry – 15 percent; building trade – 10 percent; commerce and tourism – 15 percent; transports – 8 percent; services – 22 percent.

The number of officially registered workers in the state of Israel who are inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is estimated at 85,000 (47,000 from the West Bank and 38,000 from the Gaza Strip). An additional 50,000 work unofficially.

The workers employed in Israel are classified according to the following occupations: 50 percent in construction; 18 percent in industry; 14 percent in agriculture; 18 percent in miscellaneous jobs (mostly hard work, seasonal and temporary jobs).

Fifteen percent of the workers from the occupied areas who are employed in Israel have never gone to school; 38.5 percent have studied only six years in elementary schools; 30 percent have completed ninth grade or higher. 46.2 percent of the workers from the occupied areas who are employed in Israel come from villages; 29 percent from the refugee camps; and 24 percent from towns. Forty-six percent of all workers from the occupied areas who are employed in Israel have worked in one place of work between one day and one year; 18 percent of them have been in one place of work or in one trade from one to two years; 16 percent from two to four years; 20 percent for four year or more.

Labour Auctioning

Over the last 17 years we have seen the sad and humiliating picture of labour markets, called by some Israeli newspapers "slave markets": Palestinian workers come from the occupied areas to the road junctions to offer their muscles at a cheap price to contractors and other employers. These include men in various age groups and also minors. One of the employers told a journalist:

> "Children need not be registered at the Employment Service and no national insurance fees are paid for them. Usually they are paid once a week in cash. The younger they are, the better; you can give them harder work. The young have not yet learned how to cheat. They are disciplined and quiet. The children come to us together with their older brothers, sometimes also with their fathers. The little ones are, of course, much cheaper. How much? 500 shekels a day. Adults get up to 800 shekels, and skilled workers 1500 up to 1800 shekels a day. They work nine hours with half-an-hour break. We don't give them food. How do I chose them? I come to the road junction, make a round, ask them what price they want, what their experience is and choose those who seem to me the strongest." *(Ma'ariv, November 11, 1983).*

The conditions of the workers who are inhabitants of the occupied territories and of their families are affected by the policy of occupation pursued by the Israeli government, and its main points are:

1. *Requisition of land* – The Israeli authorities have seized about half the land in the West Bank, estimated at five-and-a-half million dunums (1 dunum = 1000 square metres).

2. *Establishment of settlements* – Some 165 Israeli civilian and military settlements have been established in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, housing nearly 40,000 settlers. About 100,000 Israelis live in East Jerusalem.

The land requisitioned from the inhabitants of the occupied areas has accelerated the process of proletarianisation, especially among the villagers of the West Bank. The West Bank and Gaza Strip have become a source of cheap labour, mostly unprotected, for the Israeli economy. This process has also brought, mainly in the West Bank, a considerable growth in the number of workers who are organised in trade unions and has deepened their class consciousness.

3. *Obstructing the development of industry and agriculture* owned by the local Palestinian inhabitants. The number of enterprises in the West Bank that employ more than 50 workers is less than 50; the Gaza port was paralysed at the beginning of the occupation; citrus groves that were one of the main sources of income in this area are now in a deep crisis and face the danger of liquidation; in the past year many citrus groves in the Gaza Strip have been uprooted. Since 1967, the Israeli authorities have prevented Gaza citrus growers from exporting citrus to any market where Israel used to export its citrus products. Simultaneously, all development plans were restricted to a minimum and obstacles are raised regarding credits and capital imports from outside the occupied territories.

4. *Drastic administrative restrictions* on all importing and exporting activities to and from the occupied territories.

5. *Flooding markets in the West Bank and Gaza Strip with Israeli-made products.*

6. *Heavy taxation* and introduction of new taxes that did not exist before the Israeli occupation.

7. *Oppression and violation of basic human rights.* Above all, the policy of collective punishment (imposing curfews, road-blocks, closure of the Jordan bridges) harms first of all the working families and the underprivileged sections of the population.

The inhabitants of the occupied territories have suffered from the grave economic crisis in Israel for the past two years.

Arab workers, teenage through old age, wait at the central bus station near Damascus Gate for their day's labour to be bought./AO photo

At Least 10% Unemployment

The most acute problem workers in the occupied areas have suffered from during the last year is unemployment. No exact data exist concerning the dimensions of unemployment because of the unorganised labour market and because Israeli statistics take into account only the unemployed who are registered in the Employment Service. It is clear that at least 10 percent of the total working population suffers from unemployment that is an outcome of the following factors:

a. the crisis which the Israeli economy is going through, causing a dismissal of workers employed in Israel (mainly in building and industries) and in the occupied territories;

b. dismissals of Palestinian employees working in Jordan and in the Persian Gulf states, who return to the occupied territories; recently Jordan has restricted permits of residence to Palestinians from the West Bank to a maximal period of one month, unless the person concerned shows a work contract;

c. lack of suitable employment for university and college graduates; statistics show there were recently 210 unemployed physicians and 165 unemployed engineers in the West Bank.

Unemployment and oppression on the part of the occupation authorities are the two principal factors encouraging the emigration of Palestinians from the occupied territories to places outside the region, mainly young people, academics and skilled personnel. The number of people who have left the West Bank since the beginning of the occupation is estimated at more than 100,000. However, recently the possibilities of emigration to foreign countries have been limited and consequently the grave economic conditions in the West Bank might deteriorate even further. The *HaAretz* daily (September 7, 1984), writing on this issue, reaches the conclusion:

> "It may be concluded that the economy of the Gaza Strip and of the West Bank suffers from the absence of a free market, from the lack of varied means of production, from a speedy population growth, from growing overcrowding and from an infrastructure of development that does not cope with the requirements of the inhabitants. In both areas a young manpower reserve is accumulating, who, with the more limited possibilities of finding sources of living abroad, will intensify their efforts to find a job in Israel and will not be satisfied to rely on the local agricultural and industrial basis. This economic and demographic phenomenon emphasises still further the acute issue of the future of the Israeli-held territories."

With the growing economic crisis in Israel – when the economy of the occupied territories has become totally dependent on the Israeli economy – and with the more acute unemployment, the first to suffer are the workers of the occupied areas who are employed in Israel. They are the first candidates for dismissals. The extremist chauvinistic circles agitate against them. The fascist racists of Kahane's group have already provoked a number of violent incidents

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